

THE BRITISH JOURNAL OF DELINQUENCY

Vol. IV

April, 1954

No. 4

EDITORIAL

The modern tendency to diagnose and treat cases of delinquency at special out-patient clinics or at psychiatric and child guidance centres, although entirely appropriate and indeed deserving of wide and rapid expansion, is, from the psychiatrist's point of view, subject to some disadvantages, chief of them being that, under out-patient or 'ambulant' conditions, psychiatric interest is inevitably circumscribed. The existing system of referral of cases by courts and other social agencies tends to focus his attention mainly on the delinquencies, most frequently of juveniles and young persons, who are either first offenders or, if not, whose anti-social conduct seems likely to be amenable to medico-psychological treatment. A certain number of 'self-referred' cases or of uncharged persons presenting 'behaviour problems' come his way; but on the whole his case material is a selected sample, consisting mainly of 'pathological' delinquents. He rarely sees the so-called 'normal' delinquent and, with the exception of occasional cases of exhibitionism, and of cases relapsing after treatment, he has little or no contact with the chronic recidivist. Hardened criminals of the so-called 'Dartmoor type' are very rarely encountered.

Although this may seem to be merely a roundabout way of stating the obvious, namely, that out-patient psychiatrists have little experience of 'institutional' types, there are certain important consequences of this state of affairs. In the first place the clinic psychiatrist, whatever his private convictions on the subject, is chary of applying to criminal conduct in general the conclusions regarding the causes and mechanisms of crime he arrives at from observation of 'ambulant' pathological types. This task he leaves either to the prison or other institutional psychiatrist or to the sociologist. By so doing he escapes, though not of course entirely, the popular criticism that he is a sentimentalist seeking to whitewash or condone anti-social conduct.

The sociologist on the other hand is compelled, by reason both of his method and of the data to which he has access, to seek for causes and mechanisms of criminal conduct amongst apparently normal or at any rate 'criminally responsible' groups. To be sure, these larger groups include also recorded cases of 'pathological' crime. Nevertheless the conditions of his work compel the sociologist to concentrate on causal factors that are common to the general population, and to estimate the significance of 'remedial measures' in terms of 'normal' rather than of 'abnormal psychology'.

These reflections are stimulated by Melitta Schmideberg's paper published in this issue. Drawing her observations mainly from the study of hardened criminals, she examines the common belief that the criminal at large is amoral, and confirms the conclusion, already held by many psychoanalysts, that not only does he share many of the moral values of the normal person, but that his absence of moral feeling in the matter of his delinquent activities is a clinical phenomenon, the result of a number of unconscious mechanisms used to protect himself from the action of a more primitive but unconscious form of conscience. These are matters which call urgently for extensive investigations conducted by teams of individual and social psychologists. It is indeed remarkable how little attention is paid in otherwise ambitious researches to the simple fact that the key problem in all delinquency work can be none other than the problem of guilt.

We are glad that Dr. Epps has been able to follow up her study of 300 Borstal girls, published in this Journal in January, 1951, by an investigation of one third of that group who became recidivists or at least were recalled as unsatisfactory. The subject of recidivism, which incidentally will form the focal point of the work of the Third International Congress of Criminology to be held in London in September, 1955, is by common consent one of the main practical problems of modern penology, and further contributions to it along these lines are urgently needed. Dr. Epps makes no claim to have discovered within her small group any clearly discernible causes of relapse, but a few of the indications emerging from her figures and comments are not without interest. While the higher percentage figures for girls from broken homes or institutions and for dull, emotionally unstable and neurotic girls are not surprising, the practical recommendations made by Dr. Epps, which are largely identical with her earlier ones, would seem to deserve the closest attention on the part of all those concerned.

It is now generally agreed, even by clinicians who distrust the conditions under which laboratory psychology is conducted, that whenever reliable

units of observation can be established and a test-situation created which is roughly comparable with the conditions existing when the patient is under psychiatric examination, their clinical observations should be passed to the general psychologist for examination and statistical evaluation.

The view that 'frustration' plays an important rôle in forming the predisposition to anti-social behaviour is essentially a clinical conclusion; and it is interesting to find from Brian Kay's paper that it can be confirmed under conditions of experimentally induced and controlled frustration. At this point, however, the general psychologist finds himself confronted with precisely the same obstacles to further differentiation as does the clinical psychiatrist. Frustration, according to the latter, is the precipitating factor in all psychopathological states but this fact of itself does not, he holds, elucidate the dynamic, economic and structural differences which exist between the normal, the neurotic and the delinquent respectively. Moreover, he considers that even from the quantitative point of view, the so far unmeasured and possibly immeasurable factor of repression is decisive in determining the response of the individual to stress. Conclusions such as those advanced by Brian Kay confirm what has long been suspected regarding the importance of the constitutional factor; they also give us some hints regarding the significance of some environmental factors; but they do not tell us what endopsychic factors promote predisposition.

By a fortunate coincidence we are able to publish in our 'Research and Methodology' section a note by Mr. B. Marcus on the more general aspects of this research problem. The author enters a strong plea for the heuristic value of the working concepts on which psycho-analytical psychiatry is based. As, however, these working concepts, based as they are on the interpretation of data in terms of unconscious function, are not capable of controlled investigation of the type favoured by the descriptive psychologist, it follows that other methods of corroboration must be devised to establish their validity. Unfortunately, what at first appeared to be a practical test, namely, the reaction to treatment based on etiological theories, has proved a broken reed. The factor of accessibility to treatment does not, for example, serve to distinguish between a psycho-neurosis and a delinquent state, and consequently tells us little or nothing of the all-important factor of predisposition. In any case too much emphasis has been laid on the differences between neurosis and delinquency. The field of psychiatric observation is not confined to these two groups and in fact the most valuable information regarding the differences between them has so far been gained by contrasting them with other and often rarer forms of mental disorder and with the heterogeneous assortment of conditions subsumed under the caption of normality.

AMERICAN PRISONS¹

By HERMANN MANNHEIM (LONDON)²

I. To deal with 'American Prisons' in one short address, or even to deal with the subject at all, is in many ways a formidable undertaking. To begin with, one cannot but recall the long and distinguished line of European writers and penologists who have placed their impressions on record during the past 120 years—from Charles Dickens to Ruggles-Brise and Alexander Paterson in Britain, from Alexis de Tocqueville, Beaumont and Ducpétiaux to Paul Cornil in the French-speaking countries and from Dr. Julius to Moritz Liepmann and Franz Exner in Germany, to mention only a few of many famous names.

In the second place I am keenly aware of the limitations imposed on my survey by extrinsic circumstances. During most of my five months' stay in the United States I was largely occupied with two full-time teaching appointments as visiting professor in the Departments of Sociology of the Universities of Oregon and Pennsylvania and my visits to Institutions were restricted to the one or two free days per week I had in term-time and a fortnight's interval between these two appointments—a period largely spent in California. Added to which, the United States is much too vast a country and too diversified for even one single aspect of it to be completely mastered in five months. I can tell you hardly anything that you are not already familiar with, either from personal observation or from reading. All I can do is to underline a few general aspects and to add a few more specific local features. If my visit has taught me anything it is to be utterly distrustful of any sentence beginning with the words: 'The United States' or 'The Americans' or 'The American Penal System'. Travelling from New York west to Oregon, with an all too short visit to Utah, and a longer one to California, and returning east by a different route to Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York, the overwhelming impression one gets is one of diversity rather than of uniformity. What may be true of one locality may be entirely untrue of another a few hundred miles away. Many people outside the United States take it almost for granted that there is a vast unbridgeable and unpardonable

¹ Read at a Meeting of the Howard League for Penal Reform in London on the 1st December, 1953.

² My sincere thanks are due to all my American friends, University teachers, administrators and many others, not forgetting my students, who not only made my visit possible, but did everything in their power to make it informative and pleasant.

cleavage between American theory and American practice, that what they find described and discussed in American penological literature bears no relation to the situation as it actually exists within the American penal system. Broadly speaking, this view, though to some extent understandable, is mistaken just because it ignores the vastness of the American scene. A progressive scheme of treatment, an ingenious piece of research carried out in one particular Institution, at one particular University or Clinic, will soon gain the widest publicity through the enormous network of American information services, and in the minds of those who regard the United States as one unit the impression may easily be created that what is happening in one small corner is an accurate picture of the general situation. On the other hand, we are sometimes quite unreasonably surprised to meet Americans who are unaware of important developments taking place somewhere else in the United States. 'Americans are inveterate wanderers', 'the nation on wheels', writes John Gunther (1); and this is certainly true up to a point. In no other country of the Western World are there so many people, by no means only members of the poorer classes, who live in trailers and are constantly on the move. This is particularly true for the western part of the U.S.A. At the same time I had not expected to meet so many people, again by no means only among the poorer classes or recent immigrants, who had, as they usually express it, 'never crossed the Mississippi'. To quote John Gunther again, 'probably not one per cent. of the people of the eight central states have ever seen New York or San Francisco' (p. 317).

Another mistake we are liable to make is to apply our own standards to what is after all a different world. We all know, for example, that most American prisons, reformatories and so on are much too large for our liking. American penologists are well aware of this; they, too, dislike monster institutions such as Jackson or San Quentin—which latter is in fact much better than its reputation—and almost unanimously regard their excessive size as one of the causes of the recent wave of prison riots—a topic with which I will deal later on. But size is a relative conception, and everything else, too, is very large in the United States. The individual American is used to larger distances, larger rivers, larger cities, factories, railways and buildings, and a prison with 3,000 inmates does not frighten him quite so much as it might other people. One of the most progressive and enlightened penal administrations in the States, that of California, has just completed the construction of a new 'Vocational Training Institution' for young men near Tracy, not very far from San Francisco, with a capacity of 1,200 inmates—much too big for our taste, but for a number of reasons perhaps the only solution. When inspecting the vast new structure I must confess I was, for a moment, a little flabbergasted, particularly in view of the universal condem-

nation of large institutions I had found in all my conversations with leading Californian administrators. But soon I began to realize that for technical reasons it will probably be impracticable to do away with all these overgrown monsters in the near future. I can, I think, safely say with Thomas Huxley in one of his 'American Addresses'—the one on 'University Education', delivered at the formal opening of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, on the 12th September, 1876—(2) 'I am not in the slightest degree impressed by your bigness, or your material resources, as such. Size is not grandeur, and territory does not make a nation. The great issue . . . is what are you going to do with all these things'. Although we are not impressed by mere size it would be equally unreasonable to ignore the psychological effects and the technical difficulties occasioned by it. Nor should we ignore the penological implications of certain other fundamental differences in national character and temperament. The inside cells of American prisons have been widely criticized as inhuman and depriving the inmate of the last tiny remnant of privacy. Can we be so sure, however, that Americans who, as a rule, don't fence in their homes and gardens, cherish privacy as much as we do as an essential commodity? I am not advocating the use of inside cells in this country, but we have to remember that privacy was the most dreaded penalty in the days of solitary confinement, and in their inside cells, cage-like as they certainly are, a prisoner can still feel as part of the prison community.

As in this country and elsewhere, prison conditions have been rapidly changing in the United States, and perhaps at a particularly fast rate within the past twenty-five years. Sir Alexander Paterson was no doubt one of the shrewdest and most accurate observers, but even some of his findings of more than twenty years ago can no longer be regarded as truly reflecting the present position. For the understanding of the American penal system the most important factors are, I would suggest, *geography* and *mobility*, *politics* and *race*. While, for reasons of time, I have to leave for another occasion the subject of race and certain other factors bearing on criminology, I should like to say a few words on the impact of geography, mobility and politics.

II. *Geography and Mobility*: One has to see the vastness of so many States of the Union with their, in comparison, tiny populations to realize the impossible situation in which their administrators are placed. States with a territory of nearly 100,000 square miles (against the 58,000 of England and Wales) and a population of less than one million, or only a few hundred thousand, are nothing unusual in some parts of U.S.A. In consequence, none of these states can afford more than one Central Penitentiary, perhaps one Reformatory, and one Training School for boys and one for girls. A State such as Utah, with a territory of 85,000 square miles and a population

of approximately 700,000, possesses only one State Prison and one State Industrial School where boys and girls are kept together. However, I am not saying that such gaps in the institutional system are always and solely due to disproportion between territory and population. Oregon, a slightly larger State, with more than twice the population of Utah and greater wealth, has indeed two separate Training Schools, one for boys and one for girls; but so far it possesses no Reformatory, with the result that many young people have to go to the County Jails which, of course, exist in each of the 36 counties of the State. No State-wide official statistics exist, but the Oregon Prison Association, a very active body, made a survey in 1950 of these 'Children behind Bars' and discovered that, in the five years' period 1944-1948, what they rightly describe as 'a staggering total' of 9,853 boys and girls under the age of 17 had passed through these Jails, 451 of them even under the age of 14. However, legislation has now been passed authorizing the establishment of an 'intermediate institution' for the 16 to 25 year-olds, and I had the privilege of being invited to address the Fiftieth Anniversary Meeting of the Oregon Prison Association in Portland on the English Borstal System which, naturally, was a very topical subject at this stage.

Only in exceptional cases does it apparently happen that neighbouring States, in one way or another, pool their resources. This has been done in particular with women prisoners who have occasionally been sent to prisons in other States to make up a group of adequate size, but similar developments are under consideration for other categories of prisoners (3).

The complete independence of the individual States together with the small number of Institutions which so many of them possess explains why in American penology classification means so much more internal classification (*i.e.*, classification within the Institution) than external classification (classification meaning, among other things, using different types of Institution for different types of offenders—a point which I hope to take up later on).

Migration on a large scale is another factor which makes prison administration unusually difficult in U.S.A. There are two main trends in these waves of internal mass migration: from east to west and from south to north. The population of California increased from one and a half million in 1900 and less than seven million in 1940 to nearly thirteen million in 1953. In the last decade or so almost four million immigrants came from outside the State. 'The State of California', we read in the Biannual Report of the Department of Corrections for 1951-1952, 'is unique in the United States in the amazing development and growth which is taking place. The decade of the 1950's will determine to a large degree whether or not the development and expansion in which we are now engaged will be construc-

tive and far-sighted, or whether it will result in confusion and chaos' (4). This growth in general population was accompanied by an increase of 128 per cent. in the prison population in the eight and a half year period since the reorganization of the Californian Prison System in 1944—an increase which, described in the Californian Report as unique for the United States, has its counterpart in this country for the same period. However, for an administration which, as we know from the books by Scudder (5) and Duffy (6), had in many ways to start from scratch, the strain must have been particularly heavy.

The migration from the Southern States to the North is almost entirely a mass movement of Southern Negroes to some of the big Northern States, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois, etc. (7). The problems it has created for the prison administration of these States are perhaps even more baffling than those of California, although the latter, too, has its racial problem (ca. 15 per cent. Mexicans and 20 per cent. Negroes in Californian prisons in 1952); but, as I said before, I must leave a discussion of this most interesting and important subject for another occasion.

III. *Politics* (which for my present purposes includes certain aspects of *Administration*): We all know—and Americans are the first to deplore the fact—how much more deeply and openly than in most other countries the day-to-day administration of prisons, as of so many other institutions, has been invaded by politics in U.S.A. There is hardly any need to substantiate this statement—it is borne out by every modern American textbook and even by official pronouncements (8). In individual cases, however, it may be difficult to say where technical, professional considerations end and politics begin, and the outsider may occasionally ascribe to politics what is actually a non-political decision. If I may refer to a personal experience; my arrival in the State of Oregon coincided, almost to the day, with the sudden 'firing' of the warden of the Oregon State Penitentiary. This happened after an enquiry made in the Institution by a Commission appointed by the Governor and consisting of three Wardens from other States, lasting, it was alleged, only a few hours without giving the accused any opportunity of putting his case before the Commission. Throughout the two and a half months of my stay in Oregon this event was Subject No. 1 in the Press and in daily conversation. Public statements were made by the dismissed Warden and his successor, by some of the leading politicians, State officials and by private citizens, and after leaving Oregon I had an opportunity of talking to the dismissed Warden whom I met at San Quentin, where he had obtained some temporary employment. In view of the conflicting opinions presented and for other reasons it would be highly improper for me to express any personal views on the merits of the case, *i.e.*, whether the

official explanation of the dismissal, failure to maintain discipline, which was presented with a wealth of detail was the real and the only reason or whether political matters, too, played some part in it. The dismissed Warden himself seems to have never made any actual allegation that he had been dismissed for political reasons. The crucial element in the situation, however, seems to be that, in many States, Wardenships and other leading posts in the prison administration are not civil service appointments and can be terminated without notice at the discretion of the controlling authority. According to the Attorney General's Survey, published in 1939 (9), in only four States (Colorado, New York, Ohio and Wisconsin), the entire prison personnel 'from the wardens to the last turnkey' enjoys civil service status. In most other States, Wardenships are not civil service appointments. The view is expressed in the Survey that civil service appointments are not necessarily the ideal solution. 'Some of the prisons', it is said, 'where permanence has long been the established policy are the least progressive, perhaps because there is so little change either in personnel or in penological ideas and ideals'. While this may often be true, the Survey has to admit that, on the other hand, 'prisons whose policies are the most enlightened are found among the States where a permanent personnel makes possible a continuing progress'. (In California, there are at present only 20 out of a total of 2,407 employees of the Department of Corrections exempt from civil service by statute (10).) Without a certain measure of security of tenure, it seems to me, no really independent, consistent and long-term policy can, as a rule, be expected.

Let us now turn to the controlling authority itself. Here we find an amazing variety of systems, as described in the Attorney General's Survey and more recently and in greater detail by Richard A. McGee, the distinguished Chief of the Californian Department of Corrections (12). In each of the States whose prison systems I was privileged to see at closer range the structure was different. In Oregon supreme authority is vested in the Board of Control, consisting of the Governor, the Secretary of State and the State Treasurer, which is in full control not only of penal and reformatory Institutions but also of the various State Hospitals and the State Schools for the Blind and the Deaf. We may well question, as does Mr. McGee, whether such a Board can ever effectively function since these high officials will be too busy with other equally important matters to spend much time on prison affairs; nor can they be expected to possess or acquire the necessary technical knowledge.

In Pennsylvania, the position is particularly interesting. Within the past ten years, it has been carefully reviewed and criticized in two elaborate Reports, known as the Ashe Report of 1944 and the Devers Report of 1953.

At present, prison administration is one of the responsibilities of the State Department of Welfare, a very large Department which has also to deal with a great variety of other matters such as Homes and Hospitals, Mental Health, Child Welfare, and so on. As the inevitable consequence, the Bureaux of Penal Affairs and of Prison Industries which form one section of this 'sprawling body' and have to look after eight State Correctional Institutions, one House of Correction, one Workhouse, 68 County Prisons and 421 lock-ups, cannot get the attention and the funds required for progressive administration. A sum of eight million dollars, earmarked in 1945 for the modernization of the correctional system, 'got diverted into the mental hospital programme' (13), nor were other progressive provisions passed by the legislation in the same year carried out. To make things worse, by an Act of 1826 the whole Commonwealth is divided into two prison districts, the eastern with the Eastern Penitentiary in Philadelphia as its most famous Institution, and the western with the Western Penitentiary in Pittsburgh, both with a large number of other less well-known Institutions. Each individual prison is a more or less independent unit, ruled by a Board of Trustees consisting of lay members, and apparently administered on such different lines that even the pay of the prison guards differs from one Institution to the other. Moreover, each of the two Penitentiaries has a large modern branch some distance away, the Eastern Penitentiary at Graterford and the Western Penitentiary at Rockview, sharing the Warden and the Board of Trustees with the parent Institution. The result of this administrative set-up is lack of co-ordination, integration, uniformity and consistency, and the principal recommendations of the 1953 Report are therefore: transfer of the Prison Administration, from the Department of Welfare to the Department of Justice; the abolition of the two prison districts and of the autonomous character of individual prisons; and in particular the establishment of a Bureau of Correction headed by a Commissioner of Corrections responsible to the Attorney General, the Boards of Trustees being reduced to the rank of advisory bodies.

My criticisms of the present system in Pennsylvania are not intended to give the impression that the picture is one of complete gloom and stagnation without any redeeming features. In a State rightly famous as the cradle of American penology and distinguished by the high quality of the penological work done in the theoretical field by its Universities and on the practical side by organizations such as the The Pennsylvania Prison Society, The Philadelphia Advisory Commission on Commitment, Detention and Discharge of Prisoners, and The Crime Prevention Association of Philadelphia, such wholesale stagnation would be inconceivable. In fact, Pennsylvania does possess a number of first-class progressive Institutions. Of those which I

have seen I would mention in particular Graterford, some 30 miles from Philadelphia, a modern medium security structure of the telegraph pole type, very bright and spacious, with large grounds, excellent workshops, full employment, outside cells, an adjacent farm, good educational facilities, no overcrowding (with a capacity of 2,000, it had only ca. 1,700 inmates at the time of my visit). The present Warden, or rather deputy Warden, as the Warden is shared with, and resident in, the Eastern Penitentiary, is the architect who designed and built the prison approximately 20 years ago. There are, however, no psychologists or social workers at Graterford, which receives its prisoners not direct from the Courts but from the Eastern Penitentiary where the work of classification is carried out. In spite of the absence of any real treatment programme and in spite of racial segregation—there are three wings for white and two for coloured prisoners—the atmosphere seemed to be healthy and there have been no disturbances. On the debit side, however, there is the mother prison, the venerable old Eastern Penitentiary, opened in 1829 with 7 wings and a normal capacity of 923 inmates. There have been so many structural additions to the buildings in the past hundred years that it is difficult to discover the original design. The Penitentiary now houses 1,200 to 1,300 men in 12 or 13 wings, among them about 250 lifers. Life imprisonment may be for 15–20 years, but sometimes for much longer. Some of the men have to sleep two or three in cells some of which are dark with only small skylights, but good artificial lighting. The main industry, occupying approximately 65 men (5 per cent.), is printing; the others do maintenance work, cooking, or nothing. The classification and distribution of men between the Eastern Penitentiary and Graterford is done by the Senior Psychologist, Mr. John Shearer, who has been there for 25 years and is greatly respected; even he, however, cannot relieve the overcrowding of the Eastern Penitentiary in view of the rules which prevent the sending of certain categories of men to Graterford. It is stressed in the 1953 Report that only about 10 per cent. of the male prison population require maximum security conditions, which for Pennsylvania would mean no more than 700 men who could be comfortably housed in the two State Penitentiaries. The overcrowding at the Eastern Penitentiary is due to the out-of-date belief that every long-term prisoner has to be kept under conditions of maximum security; and it is therefore one of the recommendations of the 1953 Report to reduce the capacity of the Eastern Penitentiary to about 500 by dismantling some of its structures.

Far superior is the administrative set-up in New Jersey with its Department of Institutions and Agencies, headed by a Commissioner selected by a State Board of Control, at present no less a person than that great international figure, Sanford Bates. The centralized thinking and planning, the

co-operation and integration, so evident in New Jersey, show what can be done where an efficient system is operated by highly experienced and competent men.

Only nine States, of which California is one, possess what Mr. McGee calls 'the most refined administrative organization', *i.e.*, a separate Department of Corrections. It is not altogether easy to understand the complicated set-up developed in California since the Prison Reorganization Act of 1944, but it is a development well worth the most careful study as it has transformed the Californian penal system from one of the most backward into one of the most advanced and centralized organizations in the United States. In the words of the centenary number of the 'San Quentin News' (July 3rd, 1952), the prison newspaper written by inmates, 'a completely new concept of penology in California came into being with the formation of the Department of Corrections eight years ago'. The Department consists of the following components (14): 1. the actual Department, headed by the Director; 2. the Board of Corrections, which has 11 members and serves as a co-ordinating council for the Department; 3. the Adult Authority, with 5 members; 4. the Youth Authority, with three members, which is, however, not administratively responsible to the Director and whose activities are rather outside the scope of this paper; 5. the Board of Trustees of the Californian Institution for Women. In addition, there is a Correctional Industries Commission which will be discussed later on. While the functions of the first of these components, *i.e.*, the Department of Corrections itself, would seem to require no further explanation, apart from the fact that it is not a collegiate body—the Reports which it issues are those of the Director, not those of a Commission—some additional details about the Board of Corrections and the Adult Authority seem called for. The Board acts mainly as an advisory, policy making and correlating Agency for the Department. Under the Chairmanship of the Director, it consists of the five members of the Adult Authority, the three members of the Youth Authority, two members of the Board of Trustees of the California Institution for Women and two other 'qualified persons appointed by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Senate'. In addition, it has two further statutory functions: to advise cities and counties on jail and detention facilities and 'to make a study of the entire subject of crime, with particular reference to conditions in California'. An analogous body in this country would have to consist of members of the Prison Commission, the Children's Department, the Central After-Care Association, with the addition of a few private citizens, and there may be some similarity with the Home Office Advisory Council as far as the study of crime is concerned. The Governor appoints special Commissions charged with the study of specific subjects such as

'Organized Crime', 'Narcotics', and there is co-operation in this respect with the Universities. Of even greater interest are the functions of the Adult Authority. They are fixed by statute as follows (15): 1. To serve as members of the Board of Corrections; 2. In collaboration with the Director of Corrections to study each prisoner committed to a State prison and to determine the institution or camp to which the individual is to be transferred; 3. To handle all matters concerned with the determination of length of sentence and release of prisoners; 4. To direct the administration of the State Bureau of Paroles; 5. To have other responsibilities, for example, the determination and forfeiture of credits or the forfeiture of earnings for misconduct in prison or camp, the restoration of civil rights of inmates and parolees; and 6. To serve as an advisory pardon board to the Governor on matters of executive clemency. From this, it becomes clear that the Adult Authority has been given certain very important functions exercised in this country by the Courts, the Prison Commission, the Central After-Care Association, and the Home Secretary respectively. First, as all prison sentences in California, except life sentences, are indeterminate, the actual length has to be fixed by the Adult Authority which regards the 'equalization of punishment' as one of its essential tasks. 'Wide variations in the sentencing policies of courts played a major role in transferring the fixing of terms from the courts to a single administrative board, such as the Adult Authority'. This is a very general problem on which so much has been written that no further discussion is called for on this particular occasion (16). While the fixing of the length of sentence encroaches on the functions of the judges, several very important duties which, in this country, are the responsibility of the Prison Commission have been allocated to the Adult Authority, in particular the classification of the available Institutions, the study and classification of prisoners and their allocation to individual Institutions. Such so-called 'transfer approvals' alone numbered nearly 22,000 in the two years period 1950 to 1952. Moreover, the Authority is competent to make rules concerning prison discipline. One might perhaps say that the Adult Authority is a quasi-judicial or quasi-legislative rather than an administrative agency, except for its work as the Board of Parole. It is only too obvious that in view of these overlapping responsibilities the closest and most harmonious co-operation is required between the Authority and the Department of Corrections—co-operation which is held to be secured by the provisions of the Act of 1944 (17). In any case, the merits of any organization of this kind have to be judged by its achievements, and nobody can deny that they are outstanding. Apart from the rightly famous Forestry and similar Camps, an efficient classification system has been established with two Centres, San Quentin in the North and Chino in the South,

under a Bureau of Classification and Treatment headed by that eminent scholar and administrator, Dr. Norman Fenton. The centre at San Quentin, it is true, has to work at present in very cramped conditions, but it will soon be more comfortably housed. Whereas, generally speaking, the distribution of professional staff, *i.e.*, in particular psychologists, sociologists, counsellors, etc., is very uneven in American prisons, the Californian Classification Centres and corresponding Institutions in New Jersey and other States seem to be well supplied with them, and I should like to draw special attention to the advantages of having not only psychologists and social workers but also a sprinkling of sociologists in Classification Centres and some of the larger receiving Institutions. The outstanding work of sociologists such as Donald Clemmer, the author of 'The Prison Community' and now Commissioner of Correction for Washington, D.C., of Dr. Lloyd E. Ohlin in Illinois, and others, bears ample witness to this.

IV. One of the most mysterious sections of the American prison system is the *Jail*. In modern penological literature (18) it has received its generous share of condemnation which is no doubt amply deserved, although in recent times the regular inspections by the Federal Bureau of Prisons and other similar measures on the part of individual States should have done much to improve matters. My personal observations are far too limited to add anything of value to what is generally known. In view of the wealth of material on so many other subjects the absence of any accurate information on the number of such Jails and of their inmates is striking. The most reliable estimate seems to be that, as there are 3,100 counties in U.S.A. and as each county has at least one Jail, there must be at least 3,100 County Jails in the whole of the States (19). Many Counties, of course, have more than one Jail, and there are in addition City Jails, Workhouses, Police lock-ups, and so on. The number of persons serving short sentences in these Institutions in the course of one year is estimated at approximately three-quarters of a million. 'An additional very large but unknown number is held in jail for a few hours or a few days and released without actual commitment' (20). Much has in fact been done to improve physical conditions. The City and County Jail in Eugene (the seat of the State University of Oregon) for example, is a new and entirely adequate structure, and the only serious criticism one could make was the indiscriminate mixing, without any employment, of people of different ages and probably very different mental make-up. During my stay in Philadelphia one of the big local newspapers published an article headed 'Treat Inmates of County Prisons as Human Beings', maintaining that, in spite of repeated representations on the part of the Superintendent, conditions in one of the large Philadelphia County Prisons had 'approached the stockyard level' (21). It has to be noted that

this particular prison receives a number of boys of 16 and 17 years of age and also mentally sick persons who have been difficult and for whom no other place can be found. (To the large numbers of juveniles passing through the Jails of Oregon attention was drawn earlier on.) I did not see this prison and cannot judge, but another similar Institution in Philadelphia, the Holmesburg County Prison the scene of the so-called 'Holmesburg Tragedy' of 1938 (21a)—certainly deserved no such adverse criticism, interesting though it was in other respects. Built towards the end of the last century, Holmesburg looks like a fortress. Housing in its ten wings more than 700 Negroes and more than 300 white prisoners, it is a classical example of the star-fish type prison and can comfortably be overlooked from the centre. It receives by no means only short-termers as one might expect a County Jail to do. By an Act of 1860, the Courts have been given authority in the case of 112 different crimes to sentence an offender for long terms either to the Penitentiary or to the County Prison (21b), with the consequence that it depends on their discretion whether the State or the City has to bear the financial burden and also whether the case appears in the prison statistics or not. As pointed out in 'Contemporary Correction', this may to some extent explain the low official rate of the Pennsylvanian prison population (22). In 1952 there were in fact nearly 800 prisoners in Holmesburg serving sentences of two years or longer, many of them for very serious crimes. There were even a number of condemned men at Holmesburg, one of them, I was told, awaiting the chair already for seven years, but all alike cheerfully mixing with the other prisoners and no doubt confidently expecting a reprieve. Most of the prisoners are there on indeterminate sentences, but some serve fixed terms, and in the Record Book I noticed two cases of false fire alarm, the one sentenced to 30 days, the other to two years. Altogether, Holmesburg seems to be not at all bad if used for short sentences, but for long-termers the absence of any educational and treatment programme and of adequate employment (on this see later) are serious handicaps.

V. On account of restrictive legislation, generally known as the Hawes-Cooper Act of 1929 and the Ashurst-Sumners Act of 1935 in the Federal field and narrowly conceived State Use laws, the employment position is, on the whole, highly unsatisfactory in American prisons. As I said before, in the Eastern Penitentiary real work is available only for about 5 per cent. of the inmates. In Holmesburg there is work only for three hours per day; hundreds of men are doing 'maintenance', which usually means 15 minutes daily scrubbing, and another three hours are spent in the Exercise Yard; there are, however, a Cannery and a Farm attached to the prison. San Quentin, which possesses good workshops but whose Jute Mill was destroyed by fire in 1951, has about 700 unemployed men spending the days idly in the

Exercise Yard or in their cells. A new Textile Mill has been built, however, which will occupy 500 men. In Chino, the open prison or rather 'Institution for Men', in Southern California, justly famous for the splendid work of its Warden, Kenneth Scudder (23), full employment is available on a large farm and in workshops and camps. This may be the place to comment on other aspects of this Institution. Notwithstanding its large size and the perhaps not altogether welcome presence on its grounds of a maximum security Reception-Guidance Centre, the atmosphere at Chino—mainly thanks to the remarkable personality of Warden Scudder—is relaxed and friendly; the excellent facilities for family visits on Saturdays and Sundays deserve special mention.

State Use laws may be formulated in different ways, some of them permitting the sale of prison goods only to State Institutions, others in addition to public bodies such as County or City Institutions; some of them backed by compulsory purchase legislation, others not (24). Consequently, the amount of harm done by these statutes may vary considerably. In the face of such difficulties the persistent efforts made by various State Departments of Corrections to secure at least a minimum of productive work deserve high praise. To give a few illustrations of this unending battle, the Governor of New Jersey has recently had to veto a bill which would have limited the printing work done in State Institutions to the use of hand-fed printing presses. 'If we were to depart from the freedom of prison management to select the manner in which prisoners are to be trained with respect to printing', the Governor writes, 'it would be perfectly logical to accept comparable restraints with respect to other products' (25). In California, a Correctional Industries Commission was established by the legislature in 1947, consisting of the Director of Corrections as Chairman and six members appointed by the Governor, two representing organized labour, two representing industry, and one each for agriculture and the general public (26). This Commission, apparently modelled on the lines of the Federal Prison Industries, Inc., seems to be doing excellent public relations work, for example, by publishing informative literature to sell to industry, labour and general public the idea that productive employment simply *has* to be found for prisoners (27). No productive enterprise involving a gross annual production value of more than \$25,000 can be established in prisons without the approval of this Commission after a public hearing. It is interesting to note that, according to calculations published by the Department of Corrections, the distribution of the Californian prison population with regard to employment is as follows: 30 per cent. in productive enterprises; 35 per cent. in maintenance and housekeeping services; 25 per cent. in full-time, general and vocational education; and the remaining 10 per cent. unemployable because

of physical or mental handicaps (28). Comparing this with the distribution published by the Prison Commission for England and Wales of the prison population in this country in 1952, we find certain similarities and certain differences (29): The 'non-effectives' number 11–12 per cent. here against the 10 per cent. in California; those engaged in 'domestic' work, which probably corresponds to 'maintenance and housekeeping', number 20 per cent. (against 35 per cent.), but no less than 68–69 per cent. are productively employed in this country (against only 30 per cent.), whereas there is no counterpart here to the 25 per cent. in full-time education. If we should have to include the Prison Commission's category 'Building Services' as 'maintenance' under 'domestic', the latter group would number 28 per cent. instead of 20, while those in productive employment would be reduced from 68–69 to 60 or 61 per cent., which would still be twice as much as in California.

Earnings of those productively employed in American prisons are high. According to my notes, they ran to 15 dollars per month in San Quentin and the Eastern Penitentiary, somewhat lower at Graterford, but up to 30 dollars in some of the Forestry Camps. Tobacco is often provided free of charge and in unlimited quantities.

VI. The figure just given of 25 per cent. of Californian prisoners engaged in full-time *education* naturally turns our attention to this subject. Partly for its own sake, and partly because it is impossible in present circumstances to find work for all employable prisoners, education has gained a very prominent place in American prison administration, and a considerable volume of special literature including a periodical, the *Journal of Correctional Education*, is devoted to the subject (30). To a large extent, education not only supplements prison labour but has become a substitute for it. For illiterates or semi-illiterates, who are stated to number 10–25 per cent. of the prison population (31), it may even be compulsory in the sense that such prisoners are not paroled before they have learned to read and write. Some prisons, such as the Eastern Penitentiary and Graterford, rely on inmate teachers and correspondence courses; others, such as San Quentin, more on outside teachers. Personally, I regard the introduction of full-time or half-day education as an extremely important development, and it may well be asked whether this might not be more valuable for many prisoners than, for example, 'domestic' work which in some cases is probably not much more than a high-sounding name for complete idleness. It is true that in prisons where well-paid work is available a prisoner may be torn between the attraction of educational classes and the lure of earning money; and it was admitted at Graterford that in such cases men sometimes drop their class studies to accept paid employment. The ideal compromise, recommended by

the American Prison Association, would seem to be a 'split schedule' for prisoners likely to benefit from education as much as, or more than, from ordinary work, production or maintenance work for one half day and education for the other half. It would be a mistake, of course, to assume that the educational system has reached a high level everywhere in American prisons — 'in the vast majority of penal institutions, especially the County and City Jails' it has recently been stated, 'there is little or nothing done that can be called education by any stretch of the imagination' (32).

VII. The unprecedented wave of *prison-riots* which the American Prison System has been experiencing since 1951—during the five months of my stay there were riots in at least three States, Oregon, Minnesota and New Mexico, and 24 riots have been counted in the course of one year—has led to a great deal of heart-searching and public discussion which will no doubt speed up many long-overdue reforms. It is one of the striking features of the situation that these riots have occurred not only in notoriously backward States but also in some of those possessing the most advanced prison systems and leadership in the whole of the United States, notably New Jersey and to a minor degree even California. The matter has been considered with complete frankness by a special Committee of the American Prison Association, and also by some of the directly concerned administrators such as Sanford Bates, and in the official reports which I have seen there has been no attempt to do any white-washing. The two most specious attempts to explain these riots as happenings for which the prison system was not really responsible have, it seems, largely been discarded, *i.e.*, the theory of imitation or contagion, meaning that once there is a riot somewhere others will necessarily follow in other prisons even where there are no real grounds for it; and, secondly; the idea that there is now a new, and more dangerous, type of criminal in American prisons who is responsible for all the trouble. In former days, it was said, prisons were full of safe-crackers, bank robbers, and other reasonable men who could be relied upon not to do anything foolish; now, however, the era has come of sex offenders, psychopaths and similarly unstable people who do not know how to behave in prison. Occasionally, it was also pointed out that the period of the riotings coincided with the election campaign and that prisoners whose fate is so much dependent on party politics are more deeply interested in political changes than ordinary citizens (33). It is now realized that even if there should be some truth in these two explanations it cannot be the whole truth and that the most important causal factors have to be found within the prison system itself (34). To the European observer, one of the most striking features, especially in the big Jackson riot, is the presence of press representatives on the scene of the disturbances. While the Jackson riot was in progress

and negotiations were taking place between members of the prison staff and the ringleaders several journalists and press photographers were present, asked questions and were requested by the ringleaders not only to give the widest possible publicity to their grievances but also to witness their solemn surrender. In fairness to American prison administrators one should, I suggest, give full credit to Sanford Bates's point that all these riots could happen mainly because of the exceptional freedom of movement enjoyed by American prisoners within the Institution and especially because of the system of feeding prisoners together in large mess halls. However, this may be merely a facilitating factor, not a causal one, as few people are likely to riot just because they have a chance of doing so. Is there any real danger, many observers will ask themselves, that as the penalty for these riots freedom of movement will be drastically curtailed? I do not think so—on the contrary, one can confidently expect that the principal result of the riots will be a speeding up of essential reform work.

In the Report issued by the American Prison Association the following are regarded as the fundamental factors in the genesis of these riots: '1. inadequate financial support (*i.e.*, of progressive prison administration), and official and public indifference; 2. sub-standard personnel; 3. enforced idleness; 4. lack of professional leadership and professional programmes; excessive size and over-crowding of institutions; 5. political domination and motivation of management; unwise sentencing and parole practices'. On most of these points I have already made some observations, but one or two brief comments may be needed on some of the others. 'Unwise sentencing and parole practices', for example: in spite of recent improvements, sentences are still too long and prisoners are still kept inside much too long. Sentences are too long in some cases because of the high minimum fixed by the law. In the State of Washington, *e.g.*, the minimum sentence for an habitual criminal cannot be fixed at less than 15 years, though the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles has power to reduce it after seven years have been served (35). The length of the sentences imposed is, of course, no indication of the period actually served. When we read in the 'New York Times' of the 11th August, 1953, of the case of a man serving a 199-year sentence for aiding and abetting another prisoner to escape from prison we strongly suspect that only part of it will be spent in jail, and the same will happen in the case of other slightly less extravagant sentences. Nevertheless, when we read in the 'New York Times' of the 5th August, 1953, of the death, of hardening of the arteries, of 'Sing Sing's forgotten man' who had spent 38 years there for homicide under the influence of drink, we suspect that the hardening of the arteries may not have been all on his side. Whereas in England and Wales in 1951 only 20 prisoners were received on sentences

of more than 10 years, in the United States, in 1946, 1,219 felony prisoners were released after *serving* more than 10 years (36). Altogether, one feels that there are too many people in American prisons. Even leaving aside the Jail population, 167,374 persons were in American prisons at the end of 1952, as compared with 22,600 in England and Wales, which is approximately twice as many in proportion to population. The same applies even to California and New Jersey with roughly one per 1,000 of the population in prison against one per 2,000 in this country. Although the more serious character of crime in U.S.A. should not be overlooked, one feels that Probation might well be more widely applied.

'Sub-standard personnel' is also included in the American Prison Association's list as one of the factors responsible for the riots. While I am not competent to challenge this verdict of the most authoritative body on this subject, I am anxious to pay full tribute to the many fine and devoted members of the various administrations I have met in the course of my travels, from top-ranking executives down to simple guards and drivers, and also to the persistent efforts to develop suitable training schemes for prison personnel. The many 'Correctional Employees' Training Manuals' and similar publications issued in recent years by the Californian Department of Corrections give evidence of the competence and the spirit in which this difficult problem is being tackled. In his interesting recent book, 'The Irony of American History', Reinhold Niebuhr refers to Alexis de Tocqueville's scathing criticism of the 'troublesome and garrulous patriotism' of the Americans he had met in the course of his visit (36). Every country produces people who are complacent and refuse to consider the possibility that they may be wrong. I have not found an unduly high proportion of such persons in U.S.A., and on the other hand I have met many thoughtful and even diffident men who were most earnestly searching for the truth, men who were asking themselves, and others, whether they were on the right track, whether their country could afford to carry on as before or whether some radical re-thinking may be required. In some States, as I have tried to show, such radical re-thinking and re-making is already taking place. In due course, the other States will follow suit.

This still leaves two regrettable gaps in my story: the Women's Prisons and the Federal Prison System. Of the former I will only say that those I have seen were good. Of Federal Prisons I have seen only Alcatraz which is in no way typical and will probably soon be closed—therefore I cannot judge. Even from the distance, however, I have been impressed by the large number of leading administrators in the State services who had gained their experience and reputation in the Federal Service. The progress made in the State Prison Systems is largely due to their inspiration. American

experiences thus amply confirm the lesson learnt in this country since 1877 that without a centralized régime no real progress is possible in prison administration.

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REACTIONS OF DELINQUENT AND OTHER GROUPS TO EXPERIMENTALLY INDUCED FRUSTRATION¹

By BRIAN KAY (TORONTO)

It has been pointed out that delinquents and neurotics are less able to 'stand thwarting' than 'are stable non-delinquents. Various writers, (Bennett (5), Friedlander (8) and Himmelweit (13)) have reported that delinquents and neurotics have a low tolerance for frustration. In this paper the individual's threshold in a specific frustrating situation is regarded as an index of his tolerance. Of the many definitions of frustration cited in the literature, Zander's (18) appears to be the most suitable for experimental purposes. 'Frustration is that condition which exists when a response towards a goal believed important and obtainable by a given person suffers interference, resulting in a change in behaviour characteristic for that person and situation.' It is claimed by some writers that too many or too few frustrations in an individual's early life result in low frustration tolerance in later life. (Bennett (5) and Rosenzweig (15)). Delinquents and neurotics are reported by many workers to have had a different history of frustrating experiences from stable non-delinquents (Alexander and Healy (2), Friedlander (8), and Freud (9)). The first purpose of this study is to ascertain experimentally the thresholds of the above three groups.

Hypothesis: That the control group can be differentiated from the neurotic and delinquent groups by the capacity of its members to withstand, for a significantly greater length of time, an experimental situation designed to frustrate them.

Though delinquents and neurotics may have in common low frustration tolerance, much of their everyday behaviour is manifestly dissimilar. It is recognized that certain mixed types are found both in the behavioural and personality realms, but many individuals appear characteristically delinquent or neurotic. The extent and prevalence of emotional disturbance in delinquent populations are controversial issues. Clinicians have claimed that delinquency is not a homogeneous, psychiatric syndrome. Some writers

¹ The writer is indebted to the British Council for a scholarship, and to the Central Research Fund, University of London for a grant supporting a part of this study. The East Suffolk and Ipswich Hospital Management Committee, the Home Office, and Ipswich Education Committee kindly made facilities available.

prefer the view that the delinquent is a normal, healthy boy, while others maintain that all are in need of psychological assistance.

Previous researches, (Adams (1), Sherman and Jost (17) and Zander (18)) have indicated that neurotics can be differentiated from stable individuals by their agitated motor behaviour in response to experimentally induced frustration. If the amount of disturbed motor behaviour elicited in response to a standardized frustrating situation can serve as an index of stability, then it would follow that, to the extent that delinquents could be classified as neurotic, they would manifest this behaviour when confronted with such a situation. The second purpose, then, is to compare delinquents, neurotics, and stable individuals for the extent of agitated motor behaviour elicited.

Hypothesis: That, in response to an experimental situation designed to frustrate them, neurotics manifest a significantly greater amount of non-adaptive motor behaviour than delinquents or controls.

SUBJECTS

The sixty subjects who composed the delinquent sample were drawn from a Classifying School (34) and an Approved School (26), both under the jurisdiction of the same principal, and located within the same grounds. No attempt was made to select cases, and the testing, interviewing and experiment were conducted in a private room at the Classifying School. Any reference to the delinquent group includes boys from both schools. The delinquent sample included boys committed as being 'In Need of Care or Protection', and as being 'Beyond Control' and in most of these cases no previous offences were known. Larceny was the most frequent offence for which a boy was committed, and money the most frequent item stolen, while other articles ranged from mistletoe to a yacht.

In the selection, from a Department of Child Psychiatry, of the fifty cases that composed the neurotic group, mentally defective and psychotic children were excluded. Cases where clear psychogenesis was indicated were sought. Other criteria necessary to obtain adequate matching with the delinquent group were age, sex and intelligence. Diagnoses were made by the psychiatrist, and the terminology of the International Statistical Classification of Diseases, Injuries, and Causes of Death, 1948, was employed. Included in the neurotic sample were only seven cases in which the symptomatology approached that of the adult pattern.

The sixty members of the control sample were drawn from two Secondary Modern Schools situated in the same town. The school from which forty-nine of the subjects were drawn was located in an area reputed to have had a

high delinquency rate. The headmasters of both schools were given the responsibility of selecting cases according to age, and intelligence (from records). To the best of their knowledge none of the boys had appeared before a court, nor had they on any occasion been referred for psychiatric help.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The data collected were drawn from case histories, interviews and personality tests, requiring an average of two hours of continuous contact with the subject, and finally, the experiment.

The case histories were compiled originally by psychiatric social workers or probation officers and were available for all delinquent and neurotic subjects. This material was not sought from the control group because of practical considerations.

A few general questions regarding the subject's age, recreations and sports were posed, and information was gained of his occupational aspirations, choice of desert island companions, fears and wishes. On completion of this, Rosenzweig's Picture—Frustration Study was administered. A second personality test, designed by the writer, employed the story completion technique which, it was hoped, would elicit projective reactions to frustrating situations, of a more personal and intense nature. Ten cards from Murray's Thematic Apperception Test were presented to each subject individually, with the purpose of gaining information about his attitudes towards various individuals and authority. This paper is concerned only with the results obtained in the experimental situation.²

EQUATION OF GROUPS

Of the many factors which conceivably might have affected the experimental data, age, intelligence, educational level, and socio-economic status of parents were regarded as important. It was impossible to equate the groups for educational level due to the different terms employed by schools, and the unknown standards of many of the schools.

The mean age for the delinquent sample was 176 months $\pm$ 23. The controls' mean age was 169 months $\pm$ 13. As a group, the neurotics were younger than either of the other two, with a mean age of 145 months $\pm$ 27.

Seventy-seven per cent. of the delinquent group and 66 per cent. of the

² For greater detail, the reader is referred to: B. R. Kay, 'A comparative investigation into the reactions of delinquent, maladjusted and control groups to experimentally induced frustration'. Ph.D. thesis, 1951. University of London Library.

neurotic sample had already been tested for intelligence on one of the Wechsler Scales. The Revised Stanford-Binet Scale had been employed with the remainder of these two groups. The subjects in the control group had already been tested with one of the Moray House Intelligence Tests. The majority of the above scores were accepted without further testing. The differences among tests were not considered great enough to warrant concern in equating groups. The group means were surprisingly similar, and were as follows : delinquent 95 ± 15 , neurotic 97 ± 15 , control 97 ± 13 .

The Minnesota Scale (Goodenough and Anderson (10)), slightly modified for this study, was used in the classification of fathers' occupations. Though certain differences were obtained (Table I), it was assumed that the matching was close enough for the purposes of this study.

TABLE I
Fathers' Occupations for the Three Groups

	<i>Delinquent</i>		<i>Neurotic</i>		<i>Control</i>	
	<i>N.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N.</i>	<i>%</i>
Professional	0	0	2	4.00	0	0
Semi-professional and managerial .	1	1.67	2	4.00	0	0
Clerical and retail business . . .	5	8.33	6	12.00	5	8.33
Skilled labourer	10	16.67	4	8.00	21	35.00
Semi-skilled labourer	16	26.67	11	22.00	11	18.33
Unskilled labourer	17	28.33	12	24.00	13	21.67
Unemployed	1	1.67	2	4.00	3	5.00
Unknown	5	8.33	3	6.00	0	0
Deceased	5	8.33	8	16.00	7	11.67

DESCRIPTION OF EXPERIMENT

Three finger mazes were used, and will be referred to as 'sample', 'soluble' and 'insoluble'. Each maze was composed of L shaped wire segments embedded in wood. A $\frac{3}{4}$ -inch hole was bored at the end of one of the wire segments. The insoluble maze was composed of 64 segments mounted on a board 21" $\times$ 21". The hole was plugged with a wooden peg and was removed if, and when, it was considered advisable to terminate the experiment. Other items of equipment included prepared behaviour charts, a stop watch, a box containing a number of threepenny pieces and a blind-fold.

The sample maze was used to demonstrate the task to the subject. The purposes of the soluble maze were to ensure that the subject understood the

instructions, and through success, to increase his confidence in his ability to solve the insoluble maze.

The subject was seated in a hard chair across the table from the experimenter. The subject was told that he had to find, while blindfolded, a hole at the end of one of the segments of wire. He was to use only one finger and would not be permitted to jump from one wire to another not adjoining it, under penalty of having to start at the beginning again.

Following completion of the soluble maze, the blindfold was removed, the subject was told how long he had taken, and that the next one (insoluble maze) was a little harder. He then was asked to estimate how long he thought he would require to solve the second. It was explained to the subject that he could earn an undisclosed number of threepenny pieces which varied with the speed with which he reached the solution. At each three minute interval, the cumulative time was given, and one threepenny piece removed from the subject's side of the table. Apart from the announcement of time, and the admonitions 'You jumped' or 'One finger', the experimenter remained silent. All appeals, remarks or questions were unanswered.

All observed motor behaviour was recorded. Any errors and behaviour contrary to instructions were noted. Symbols to denote common behaviour had been developed in pilot experiments and were noted on the behaviour charts. All remarks of the subject were recorded.

EXPERIMENTAL RESULTS

The results can be conveniently divided into three main sections, namely affective, verbal and motor behaviour.

Affective Behaviour

Immediately following the experiment, the subject was questioned regarding his feelings and responses were recorded verbatim.

Though the delinquents and controls both reported feelings that could be termed aggressive, an interesting difference emerged in the manner in which they were reported. The delinquents usually amplified their statement that they were 'annoyed' or 'wild' with explosive grunts and swearing. The delinquents hesitated little in answering, contrasting markedly with those neurotics and controls who reported feelings classified as aggressive. The neurotics tended to be much quieter, more sullen and hesitant in their answers. The controls generally paused, then, in a manner that could only be described as friendly, gave their replies. It is of interest that considerably

more controls than the other two groups combined contended that they 'just felt like keeping going'.

Verbal Behaviour

All verbal responses were recorded, as were the times of their occurrence.

Various classifications of verbal reactions to frustration are available in the literature, such as those of McClelland and Apicella (14) and Seashore and Bavelas (16). These were found unsuitable for the writer's data in their original forms, and were modified accordingly. The classifications employed, with examples and definitions, are given in Table II.

TABLE II

Classification of Verbal Responses with Definitions and Examples

- | | |
|--|--|
| A. <i>Withdrawing responses</i> : <i>statement indicates subject's desire to terminate the experiment.</i> | |
| 1. <i>Implicit</i> : | 'Oh dear, I don't really want to do this.' |
| 2. <i>Explicit</i> : | |
| (a) <i>Active</i> | 'I pack up.' 'I'm quitting.' 'I give up.' |
| (b) <i>Passive</i> | 'I want to finish now if I may.' |
| B. <i>Aggression</i> : | |
| 1. | <i>Statement is aggressively directed towards the experiment or experimenter.</i> |
| | 'You should try this yourself sometime.' |
| 2. | <i>Statement is aggressively directed towards himself.</i> |
| | 'I'm no good at anything much.' |
| C. <i>Request for further information about the experiment.</i> | |
| | 'Can I go over this one?' |
| D. <i>Specific request for help in finding the solution.</i> | |
| | 'Could we play hotter and colder?' |
| E. <i>Rationalization</i> : | |
| | <i>Statement is an excuse for failure or an attempt to lessen feelings of failure.</i> |
| | 'This blindfold I am afraid keeps me from concentrating.' |
| F. <i>Appeal for sympathy</i> : | |
| | <i>Statement calls attention to a real or imagined handicap without actually relating this to inability to continue, or using it as an excuse for failure.</i> |
| | 'Me eyes ache.' 'Me neck ain't half aching.' |
| G. <i>Miscellany</i> : | |
| 1. <i>Social responses</i> : | 'Beg your pardon.' |
| 2. <i>Exclamations</i> | 'Gawd.' 'Gosh.' 'Cripes.' 'Gee.' |
| 3. <i>Unclassified</i> : | <i>Statement is ambiguous.</i> |
| | 'How many threepences are left?' |

The professional staff (four) of the Department of Child Psychiatry, and the writer, classified all verbal responses under one of the above headings.

Some difficulty was experienced in differentiating between the implicit withdrawing response, and that of an appeal for sympathy. If, as on rare occasions, the judges failed to agree, the response was recorded as ambiguous and included under the rubric of 'unclassified'. The percentage of responses for all three groups so classified was only 2.9 per cent. The verbal records of the three groups were mixed indiscriminately and in most cases the judges were in ignorance of the particular group to which a record belonged. Twenty-five cases selected at random were again presented to the judges and were reclassified. The percentage of agreement with the original was 89.8 per cent.

The distributions obtained for all groups were positively skewed. To assess the significance of the differences, the combined distribution of the number of verbal responses (corrected for time), recorded for all cases in the three groups, was plotted. The median for this distribution was obtained, and the percentage of cases from each of the three groups falling above this point ascertained. These percentages with critical ratios are recorded in Table III.

TABLE III

Percentage of Cases in Each Group, with the Number of Verbal Responses Corrected for Time, Falling Above the Median of the Three Groups Combined

Percentage			Critical Ratio		
<i>Delinquent (D)</i>	<i>Neurotic (N)</i>	<i>Control (C)</i>	<i>D-N</i>	<i>D-C</i>	<i>N-C</i>
56.67	70.00	20.00	1.46	4.46	6.03

It is apparent that the control group, in general, talked less than either of the other two groups.

The percentages of the total verbal responses for each group classified under each category yielded no significant differences³ among groups. This,

³ The tests of statistical significance of differences between percentages assume the sample used to be a 'large' one (50 or 60), and the following levels of confidence were employed: CR's of 1.95 or less were termed 'not significant', since the obtained difference might have occurred more than five times in 100 by chance. CR's between 1.96 and 2.50 were termed 'probably significant'. That is, they lay between the 5 per cent. and 1 per cent levels of confidence. CR's between 2.6 and 3.29 were termed 'significant', being between the 1 per cent. and 0.1 per cent. levels of confidence. CR's greater than 3.29 were termed 'highly significant', since such differences would not be expected to occur by chance more than once in 1,000 instances.

however, provides only a gross picture of the results. The data were then analysed by recording the number of cases in each group in which a particular response was elicited at least once. The results of this analysis yielded many significant differences.

TABLE IV

Critical Ratios Among the Percentage of Cases in Each Group Who Gave a Particular Type of Verbal Response at Least Once

Type of Verbal Response	Critical Ratio		
	D-N	D-C	N-C
A. <i>Withdrawing</i>			
1. Implicit	1.98 (N)*	(2.47 D)	4.41 (N)
2. Explicit			
(a) Active	0.92 (D)	3.84 (D)	2.65 (N)
(b) Passive	1.53 (D)	4.08 (D)	2.29 (N)
B. <i>Aggression</i>			
1. Against experiment	0.45 (N)	3.46 (D)	3.68 (N)
2. Against self	2.42 (N)	1.04 (D)	3.31 (N)
C. <i>Information</i>	1.99 (N)	0.75 (D)	2.74 (N)
D. <i>Aid in finding solution</i>	1.18 (N)	1.48 (D)	2.53 (N)
E. <i>Rationalization</i>	0.14 (N)	2.72 (D)	2.63 (N)
F. <i>Appeal for sympathy</i>	1.72 (N)	2.33 (D)	3.97 (N)
G. <i>Miscellany</i>			
1. Social	1.19 (N)	1.70 (D)	2.86 (N)
2. Exclamation	1.53 (N)	2.26 (D)	3.70 (N)
3. Unclassified	2.53 (N)	0.35 (C)	2.24 (N)

* Letter stands for the group having the greater percentage.

Space does not permit detailed discussion of Table IV. The salient features can be indicated through a comparison of the members in each group who gave no withdrawing verbal responses at all (Table V).

TABLE V

Percentages, and Critical Ratios Among Groups, for the Number of Cases Who Gave No Withdrawing Responses

Percentages			Critical Ratio		
<i>Delinquent</i>	<i>Neurotic</i>	<i>Control</i>	D-N	D-C	N-C
31.67	42.00	85.00	1.22	7.08	5.17

It can be seen that a statement indicating the subject's desire to terminate the experiment was an atypical response for a member of the control group. It will be shown that the lack of this particular verbal response is consistent with other behaviour of the control group.

To summarize, both the delinquent and neurotic samples talked more than did the members of the control group. The neurotics talked more than did the delinquents, and this still obtained when time in the experiment was taken into consideration. A wide variety of verbal responses was elicited in all three groups. The neurotics and delinquents differed significantly from the control group, in the number of individuals who gave a response that indicated their desire to terminate the experiment. The neurotics tended to be more implicit, and the delinquents more explicit, in their requests.

Delinquents and neurotics were more often aggressive against the experiment than were the controls, and the neurotics were more self-depreciatory or aggressive against themselves than were those in the other two groups. Requests for information accounted for the greatest percentage of the control group's responses. This percentage of the total was approximately twice as much as that obtained with the neurotics or delinquents. However, more individuals in the latter two groups gave such a response than in the control group. More neurotics sought help in finding the solution than did the members of the other two groups, but the only significant difference was between this group and the controls.

A greater number of neurotics and delinquents rationalized than did controls. An appeal for sympathy was elicited from more neurotics than delinquents or controls. The delinquents more often than the controls gave this response, and the difference was probably significant. Social responses accounted for a considerable percentage of the total number elicited in all three groups and, examining the number of individuals who gave this response at least once, the only significant difference was between the neurotics and controls, the latter having the fewer. The neurotic and delinquent groups had more individuals who gave exclamations than did the control, the differences being significant at the 0.1 per cent. and 5 per cent. levels respectively.

Motor Behaviour

The focus of interest in this study was on that type of behaviour termed 'non-adaptive'. By non-adaptive is meant any behaviour related to the tracing of the insoluble maze that did not directly contribute to the solution of the problem. The task was to find a hole that the subject had been told

was at the end of the short foot of an 'L' shaped segment of wire. Adaptive behaviour was regarded as the tracing of the wire with one finger, and on finding no hole, the retracing of that segment and the continuation along an adjoining wire. Examples of non-adaptive behaviour in this context, then, included such items as jumping from one wire to another, or the employment of more than one finger, both being contrary to the instructions. Stabbing at random, twisting the wire, the repetitious tracing of the same segment, or frequent pauses were others. Many items of behaviour may have occurred fortuitously and little significance can be attached to them. However, if often repeated, this behaviour becomes of interest. For example, to retrace the same wire, as a check that no other wire leading off had been missed, could be regarded as rational and premeditated but, when repeated one hundred times, this had some psychological significance when contrasted with previous behaviour.

Clearly, a given behaviour can be regarded as non-adaptive in reaching a solution, but adaptive if it aids the adjustment of the individual. If participation in this experiment engenders considerable tension and if the expression of this motor behaviour dissipates this tension, unquestionably it is adaptive behaviour.

The behaviour record of each subject was analysed, and all items of behaviour totalled. Since the length of time of participation varied, each total was corrected making time constant. This assumes that at least as much non-adaptive behaviour would have been elicited in the latter portion of the hour as was in a comparable period in the first. The frequency with which these items of behaviour were elicited was clearly related to increments in tension, and had those subjects who failed to complete the hour been forced to continue, there is little doubt that an even greater amount of disturbed behaviour would have been manifested.

To compare groups, a point was needed to divide those subjects who only occasionally exhibited a given behaviour from those who persisted beyond a reasonable amount. If the neurotic boy, in response to frustration, exhibits much non-adaptive motor behaviour, a few such boys, in any group, would contribute disproportionately to their group means, thus cloaking differences among groups.

A frequency distribution of all subjects' total non-adaptive behaviour was plotted, and the median for this combined distribution was determined. The number of subjects falling above this point in each group was counted, and the result expressed as a percentage. The results are presented in Table VI, and it is clear that the neurotics manifested considerably more non-adaptive motor behaviour than either the delinquents or controls. No significant difference was obtained between delinquents and controls.

TABLE VI

Percentage of Cases in Each Group with Total Non-Adaptive Motor Behaviour Falling Above the Median for the Combined Distribution

Percentage of Cases			* Critical Ratio		
D	N	C	D-N	D-C	N-C
36.67	92.00	23.33	7.57	1.61	10.25

WAYS IN WHICH THE EXPERIMENT WAS TERMINATED

Six types of behaviour led to the termination of the frustrating situation. The difference among groups in the frequency of various modes of resolution is presented in Table VII.

TABLE VII

Differences Among Groups in Ways of Terminating the Experiment

Method of Termination	Percentage of Cases			Critical Ratio		
	Del.	Neur.	Cont.	D-N	D-C	N-C
E ended at 60 mins.	28.33	42.00	91.67	1.50	9.27	6.34
E ended, S too disturbed	8.33	16.00	1.67	1.22	1.69	2.63
E ended, S cheated	3.33	6.00	6.67	0.65	0.84	0.14
E ended, S remained on the same wire for three minutes without attempting to continue, or left board and did not return within this time	28.33	18.00	0.00	1.30	4.87	3.32
S removed his blindfold	31.67	10.00	0.00	2.95	5.27	2.36
E ended, S perseverated	0.00	8.00	0.00	2.09	0.00	2.09

Legend : E = experimenter, and S = subject.

When cheating, discontinuing tracing the maze and removal of the blindfold are grouped together, and regarded as being based on the initiative of the subject, differences among the groups are marked.

TABLE VIII
*Percentages and Critical Ratios for the Cases in Each Group Who
 Resolved the Frustration Situation on their Own Initiative*

Percentage			Critical Ratio		
<i>Del.</i>	<i>Neur.</i>	<i>Cont.</i>	<i>D-N</i>	<i>D-C</i>	<i>N-C</i>
63.33	34.00	6.67	3.21	8.08	3.68

It can be seen in Table VIII that this behaviour occurred more frequently in the delinquent sample than in either of the other two groups and that the controls rarely employed these methods. These results will be discussed in relation to the hypotheses.

RELATIONSHIP OF AGE AND INTELLIGENCE TO BEHAVIOUR IN THE EXPERIMENT

Because of the discrepancies among group means for age, it was important to determine the relationship between age and experimental behaviour. Pearson's product moment method for the computation of the correlations was employed for those correlations in which verbal responses formed no part. A large number of controls failed to give any verbal responses and for this reason the above method was inapplicable. Thus, Spearman's rank difference method was used. The correlations so obtained were then converted into equivalent Pearson r 's from Table 68, Guilford (12).

Correlations between time and other variables for the control group were not calculated, because of the homogeneity of this group with respect to time in the experiment.

A negligible positive relationship between age and time was obtained with the neurotic sample, and a low negative correlation with the delinquents; thus there was a slight tendency for older delinquents to participate in the experiment for less time than the younger.

The correlations obtained between age and non-adaptive motor behaviour (corrected for time) were, in all groups, negative but negligible. Thus, the lower mean age of the neurotic group is not responsible for the greater amount of non-adaptive motor behaviour in this group, when compared with the other samples.

Both neurotic and delinquent samples yielded a substantial negative correlation for age and verbal responses (corrected for time). That is, older

neurotics and delinquents tended to talk less. Though also negative, a negligible relationship was obtained between age and verbal responses with the members of the control group.

When IQ and length of time of participation in the experiment were correlated, a low positive relationship was obtained for the neurotic sample, and a negligible positive correlation for the delinquent group. There was thus a slight tendency for the more intelligent neurotics to remain in the experiment for a longer time than those of lesser intelligence.

The relationships between IQ and verbal responses, and IQ and non-adaptive motor behaviour, in all three groups, were negligible. Correlations of verbal responses (uncorrected for time) and time, in both the delinquent and neurotic samples, were negligible. The correlations for all three groups, between verbal responses and non-adaptive motor behaviour (both variables uncorrected for time), were negligible. This suggests that the view that verbal expression of feelings necessarily dissipates tension is untenable.

A negligible positive correlation between non-adaptive motor behaviour and time was obtained with the data from the neurotic sample. There was a low negative relationship between these two variables in the delinquent group, and thus a tendency for the delinquents, who manifested considerable non-adaptive motor behaviour, to participate for less time in this experiment.

EXPERIMENTAL RESULTS AND HYPOTHESES

The first hypothesis posited that the control group had a higher frustration threshold than either the neurotics or delinquents. The first step is to define operationally the frustration threshold. Time spent tracing the maze, by itself, is inadequate as a criterion. Observation, and the subject's request to terminate the experiment, could play only a secondary rôle. Even when a subject terminated the experiment on his own initiative, the time at which this occurred was usually at some point following considerable disturbed motor behaviour. On analysis, it was clear that no one criterion was suitable. Non-adaptive motor behaviour appeared to be post-threshold behaviour. Neither in the soluble maze, nor from the beginning of the insoluble maze, was this behaviour manifested. Further, though not all subjects expressed a desire to terminate the experiment, it was noted that frequently the first of such requests was in close temporal relation to the beginning of the motor behaviour described as non-adaptive.

As previously discussed, many of the items of behaviour regarded as non-adaptive only assumed psychological importance when the frequency of occurrence could not be attributed to fortuitous slips. To separate the acci-

dental from the repetitive, and to obtain a point independent of the writer's judgment in any particular case, the median of the combined distribution of all cases (corrected for time) was selected (Median = 29.5).

Each record was then scrutinized, and for those cases for which 30 or more non-adaptive motor responses had been recorded, the time of the thirtieth response was noted. Though probably occurring at a point in the time continuum beyond the threshold of most cases, the median provided a constant by which motor behaviour, as a criterion of threshold, could be utilized.

The second criterion employed was the length of time that a subject participated in the frustrating situation. A considerable number of individuals persevered with the task until the 60-minute time limit had elapsed. In addition, they manifested insufficient non-adaptive motor behaviour to be included under the first criterion. The time of the threshold for these subjects was regarded as 60 minutes. Apparently this time was insufficient for the threshold to be reached, but to compare these individuals with those with lower thresholds, this procedure was necessary.

In those cases in which the experiment was terminated prior to the 60 minute time limit, and for which 30 or more non-adaptive motor responses were recorded, the time of the latter was regarded as the threshold.

Having defined for all cases the frustration threshold by either of the above two criteria, and having noted the time at which this threshold was reached, these times were arranged in a frequency distribution for each group. It was apparent that mean times among groups could not be compared. The distribution obtained for the control group was negatively skewed, because the greater percentage of cases not only remained at the task for the hour, but in addition, manifested relatively little non-adaptive motor behaviour. It was decided that the median length of time for all three groups was a suitable point from which to assess group differences. The median length of time for the three groups was 40 minutes, and the number of cases in each group falling above this point was calculated.

The results showed that 83.33 per cent. of the controls, 31.67 per cent. of the delinquents and 32.00 per cent. of the neurotics fell above the median. The difference between the controls and the neurotics was highly significant ($CR = 6.28$). The difference between the controls and the delinquents was also highly significant ($CR = 6.71$). The difference between the neurotics and delinquents was not significant. It will be recalled that very few members of the control group gave a withdrawing verbal response. The lack of such is consistent with their higher thresholds.

The hypothesis, then, that the control group can be differentiated from the neurotic and delinquent groups, by the capacity of its members to with-

stand, for a significantly greater length of time, an experimental situation designed to frustrate them, is confirmed.

The second hypothesis posited that the neurotics would differ significantly, in the amount of non-adaptive motor behaviour elicited, from the delinquents or controls. As reported previously in Table VI, the neurotic group had more individuals falling above the median for the combined distribution of total non-adaptive motor behaviour than either the delinquents or controls, and the differences in both comparisons were highly significant. There was no significant difference between delinquents and controls. This confirms our hypothesis that in response to an experimental situation designed to frustrate them, neurotics manifest a significantly greater amount of non-adaptive motor behaviour than delinquents or controls.

HETEROGENEITY OF THE DELINQUENT SAMPLE

The difference between the delinquents and controls in amount of non-adaptive motor behaviour was not significant. However, 22 cases in the delinquent group fell above the combined median, and it was considered worthwhile to see whether these subjects were distinguishable from the others by examining their offences. The offences can be divided into two main groups; those involving the conventional acts of delinquents such as 'Breaking and Entering' and 'Larceny', and those indicating familial disturbances or definite neuroticism. This latter group included four cases committed as being 'Beyond Control', two 'In Need of Care or Protection', three charged with 'Unlawful and Indecent Assault on a Female', and one with 'Breach of Supervision Order (exposed to moral danger)'. Of these 10 cases, seven fell above the combined median.

Of the 22 cases (36.67 per cent.) in the delinquent group who fell above the combined median, five remained in the experiment for 60 minutes; 17 delinquents participated for 60 minutes, leaving 12 who fell below the median for non-adaptive motor behaviour while remaining in the experiment for the maximum time. This behaviour, as has been shown previously, is comparable to that of the large majority of individuals in the control sample. Thus, 20 per cent. of the delinquent group could not be differentiated from the controls by their behaviour in the experiment.

A third group within the delinquent sample neither remained in the experiment for the hour, nor fell above the combined median point for non-adaptive motor behaviour. One case was prevented from continuing, through the experimenter's decision that he was too disturbed to be allowed to continue. The remaining 25 cases took the initiative, either by removing their blindfolds, discontinuing tracing, or cheating.

When the delinquents who composed the sub-group which approximated the controls, and the third sub-group (which took the initiative and manifested little non-adaptive motor behaviour) were compared for the reasons for their commitment, no significant differences emerged. When these two groups, henceforth to be referred to as 'normal' and 'aggressive', were compared for frequency of previous offences, it was apparent that the members of the aggressive sub-group were more likely to be persistent offenders.

In recent years, increasing attention has been paid to the effect that early separation, particularly from the mother, has on the development of delinquents and neurotics. Causal significance has been attributed to the rôle of 'maternal deprivation' by Bender (4), and Bowlby (7). The data available on the delinquent sample's early histories were analysed, and the disturbances of the parent-child relationship through separation noted. 21 cases (35 per cent.) were reported to have spent their early years (up to seven years of age) in an institution, or to have been members of a broken family. Of these 21 cases, 11 fell above the combined median of non-adaptive motor behaviour. The remaining 10 fell below the median but, on their own initiative, terminated the experiment before the time limit had elapsed. It is striking that no member of the normal sub-group was reported to have experienced separation from his parents in his early years.

Analysis of the neurotic sample for the frequency of separation, and its relation to experimental behaviour, failed to produce any significant trend. Early separation was noted in 30 per cent. of the subjects in this group.

ROLE OF VERBAL RESPONSES

There appeared to be little relationship between loquacity in the interview and volume of verbal responses in the experiment. Many who chattered ceaselessly in the interview were silent in the experiment, whereas with others this was reversed. It seemed almost as if the stress of the situation silenced the talkative and stimulated the reticent.

Among the loquacious subjects, a pattern emerged where they at first demanded further information, appealed for help or sympathy, rationalized, requested permission to terminate the experiment, made aggressive comments about the experiment or experimenter, indulged in explosive exclamations, and, in a few cases, directed their verbal aggression against themselves.

It appeared that aggressively blaming oneself in this experiment might be related to feelings of anxiety and guilt following the expression of aggression, and might represent a further and more serious stage along the continuum of disturbance than verbal aggression against the frustrating agent.

In a recent review of experimental work on aggression as a response to

frustration, Himmelweit (13) has drawn attention to the 'beneficial discharge of tension' through verbalization of feelings. She suggests that the individual who is secure enough to express his feelings, or 'let off steam', will at the same time meet the situation in a more constructive way than an individual who is unable to verbalize his feelings.

As noted above, correlations between the number of verbal responses and non-adaptive motor responses, and between verbal responses and time were negligible for the delinquent and neurotic samples. There is thus no evidence that verbalization of feelings will necessarily increase the probability of constructive behaviour. The verbal expression of frustrated desires and wishes is regarded by therapists as an essential part of the therapeutic process. In the therapeutic situation, the attempt is made to ensure that the patient feels secure, even though expressing hostilities and ambivalences. There is a difference between verbalizing feelings in a frustration experiment where no replies are received, and verbalizing in the therapeutic situation.

In placing the variety and volume of verbal responses to frustration into a theory of frustration, it will be of basic importance, as Himmelweit (13) has suggested, to determine the interrelation of such variables as the type of situation which has induced the frustration, and the relationship between the subject and the person who imposes the frustration. Other variables worthy of investigation are the relation of verbal responses to motor behaviour, frustration threshold, and modes of resolving the conflict situation.

CONCLUSIONS

The members of the control group were characterized by high frustration tolerance, which was in marked contrast to the delinquents and neurotics. Recent research in the United Kingdom and the United States on the origins of both delinquency and maladjustment has emphasized a warm, continuous relationship with the mother (or mother-surrogate), as essential for both social and personal adjustment. Delinquents in particular have been noted to have suffered interruptions of this relationship in early life (Bender (4), Bennett (5), Bovet (6) and Bowlby (7)).

Rosenzweig (15) has advanced the hypothesis that excessive or insufficient frustration in early life are responsible for the incapacity of an individual to tolerate frustration in later life. It would seem, however, that in addition to frequency, the intensity and type of frustration are at least of comparable importance. It is reasonable to expect, for example, that overt hostility might differ in its effects from the subtle withdrawal of affection. The effect of both of these probably differs with the individual imposing the frustration.

Neurotics were found to manifest more non-adaptive motor behaviour in

response to the frustration situation than either delinquents or controls. Since this was characteristic only of the neurotic group it seems probable that such behaviour is related to the stability of the subject. Since most controls did not reach their threshold, any interpretation of differences in post-threshold motor behaviour that might have been found would be conjecture.

Marked differences among groups were found in the methods of resolving the frustration situation. The large majority of the controls were able to withstand the frustrating situation, and only four took the initiative (cheating) in terminating the experiment. Though a few members of the neurotic sample discontinued tracing, or removed their blindfolds, their behaviour appeared to be based largely on a feeling of resignation.

Almost half of the delinquents, on reaching their thresholds, terminated the experiment on their own initiative. The aggressive termination of the experiment appeared to indicate a different attitude toward the situation from that held by most of the neurotics and controls. The data suggested that the instability of these delinquents was not one of intra-personal conflict, but rather a disturbance of normal inter-personal relations.

Some writers have stressed that delinquents are not homogeneous in type of personality. They also have emphasized, in most cases, that there is no psychiatric syndrome peculiar to delinquents. It will be remembered that 20 per cent. of the delinquent group could not be differentiated in experimental behaviour (either in frustration threshold or in motor behaviour) from most cases in the control group. This strongly supports the view that this group is composed of essentially normal and stable individuals. The genesis of the delinquent acts of these boys probably can be traced to environmental circumstances. This would be in agreement with the writings of Alexander and Staub (3), Bovet (6) and Gregory (11). An intriguing feature of the backgrounds of the 'normal' delinquents in this study is that, as far as could be ascertained, not one had suffered an interruption of the emotional relationship with his mother in the first seven years of life. Though this group could not be differentiated from a third group termed 'aggressive delinquents' by their reason for commitment, in general they had, at the time of the experiment, committed fewer offences.

A second sub-group (38 per cent. of the total sample), because of their agitated motor behaviour, were regarded as emotionally disturbed, or unstable. Analysis of offences indicated a higher probability of instability among delinquents committed for being 'Beyond Control', in 'Need of Care or Protection', or for 'Unlawful and Indecent Assault on a Female' than among those committed for more common offences such as 'Breaking and Entering' or 'Larceny'; 50 per cent. of this unstable group were re-

ported to have suffered an interruption of the emotional relationship with parents through separation in early life.

The third sub-group in the delinquent sample was composed of those termed 'aggressive delinquents'. These boys (42 per cent. of the sample) had a low frustration threshold, manifested little non-adaptive motor behaviour and, on their own initiative, aggressively terminated the experiment. They tended to be persistent offenders, which contrasted with the 'normal' delinquents; 40 per cent. of these aggressive delinquents were known to have suffered parental emotional deprivation during the first seven years of life. It is possible that the percentage of cases of 'deprivation' in the complete sample is actually higher, as some case histories compiled by the probation officer were so brief that such information may have been omitted.

It is concluded that the delinquent population cannot be regarded as a homogeneous group. Apart from administrative convenience, there is no reason for common residence of normal, neurotic and aggressive delinquents in the same Approved School. If the aggressive delinquent is the persistent offender, as is suggested by this study, Approved School residence for three years may change very little his deeply ingrained attitude toward authority and society. If further research, which is obviously required, confirms this investigation, and if it can be demonstrated that aggressive delinquents compose a large proportion of the intractable offenders, then a re-orientation in treatment for this group will be required.

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'Guilt implies' a condition of tension between the ego and the super-ego, which in turn corresponds to tension between child and parent, and in both cases punishment is the natural method of relief. Thus the suffering of punishment comes to play much the same rôle in relation to guilt as does escape from danger, and just as there is an instinctive need to carry out the biological reactions to fear and anger (in their simple or modified form), so also there arises a conditioned need . . . to carry out the corresponding reaction to guilt, *i.e.* to submit to punishment.

' . . . in this intimate psychological relation between guilt and punishment we must probably seek the origin both of the social institution of punishment and of the closely related concept of justice, which, in its application to the individual, involves the notion of some sort of equilibrium between crime and punishment, virtue and reward. Punishment and justice are no mere inventions of later educational and legal thought, but have their deep foundations in the mental constitution of mankind.'

J. C. FLUGEL: 'Man, Morals and Society.'  
(London: Duckworth, 1945, pp. 145-6.)

# A FURTHER SURVEY OF FEMALE DELINQUENTS UNDERGOING BORSTAL TRAINING<sup>1</sup>

By P. EPPS (LONDON)

Three hundred girls, sentenced to Borstal training between April 1948 and August 1950, were surveyed in a previous article and various points which emerged from it were discussed (3). It is thought that a review of 100 of this series, comprising 90 who were recalled for further training owing to unsatisfactory behaviour, and 10 who served prison sentences for offences committed before the end of their Borstal sentences, may be of interest from the viewpoint of possible factors accounting for their failure to benefit from training so far. This sample represents, in the main, the first 100 to be seen at Holloway prison, either in transit to the recall centre or serving sentences, although it includes a few who passed directly from other prisons to the centre or served sentences elsewhere.

A comparison, based on various factors determined in the first survey, is made between the original group of 300 girls (termed Group A) and the present series of 100 (termed Group B). This leads to a discussion of various points, suggested both by these comparative figures and also by clinical assessment of their attitude and behaviour at this later stage of their careers as compared with the original training period.

## COMPARISON OF THE TWO GROUPS

### *Age and Charge*

No particular age-group appeared to be prone to failure, the average age on reception, in each group, being 18·8 years.

Larceny remains the commonest offence for which they were sentenced to Borstal training, occurring in 44·6 per cent. of Group A and 45 per cent. of Group B girls. The remaining charges are as follows: housebreaking, in Group A 16 per cent. and Group B 18 per cent.; breach of recognizance, 16·6 per cent. and 18 per cent.; absconding from an Approved School, 17 per cent. and 14 per cent.; wandering abroad, 1·6 per cent. and 2 per cent.; drunkenness, 1 per cent. and 3 per cent.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to the Prison Commissioners for permission to publish this article, which does not necessarily represent their views.



Of the 26 noted in Group A as having had no charge but that of 'care and protection' or 'beyond control', but whose behaviour in Remand Home or Approved School was deemed to warrant a Borstal sentence, 9 reappeared in Group B, two charged now with larceny, one with drunkenness and six still with no charge. Five of the latter were recalled for poor work records and promiscuous sex behaviour; one absconded from her home shortly after returning to it.

Four of the 11 first offenders, who had presumably been sentenced to Borstal training because of the seriousness of the offence, were recalled, the original charges being housebreaking in three cases and larceny in one. Two were recalled for unsatisfactory behaviour, and two had new charges, one for housebreaking again and one for wandering abroad.

### *Home Background*

An unsatisfactory home background figured prominently in the original survey, as it has done in numerous studies on delinquents, but it has been observed that comparisons are difficult since varying estimates as to what constitutes a deprived home exist. Some authors have included economic and social, as well as emotional factors, but the important result, that of the individual's reaction to such stresses, may be difficult to judge retrospectively. It may be of significance that in two respects the rate in the second series was higher, namely, in those whose parents had been separated or divorced (Group A 25.3 per cent., Group B 35 per cent.) and in those brought up in Institutions (Group A 9 per cent., Group B 13 per cent.). Illegitimacy was the same in each group (10 per cent.). Figures for the incidence of abnormality in the family history (psychosis, mental deficiency, alcoholism) showed little difference in the two groups. Delinquency in the home remained high (Group A 28.6 per cent., Group B 31 per cent.).

### *School Records*

Comparison of school records shows that the proportion of those who received any form of higher education was only slightly lower among the recalled (Group A 13.3 per cent., Group B 11 per cent.); with a corresponding slight rise among those who had been to elementary schools only (Group A 86.6 per cent., Group B 89 per cent.). Figures for ex-Approved School girls remained high (Group A 49.3 per cent., Group B 48 per cent.).

### *Intelligence and Emotional Instability*

The small number of girls of superior intelligence reappeared in much the same proportion, Group A showing 3.8 per cent. and Group B 3 per cent. The distribution of average and inferior intelligence in Group A was 49.8 per cent and 46.4 per cent., while in Group B it was 46 per cent. and 51 per

cent., showing some tendency on the part of girls of dull intelligence to re-appear in increased numbers.

The proportion assessed as emotionally unstable is considerably higher amongst the recalled and reconvicted, being 27·6 per cent. in Group A and 37 per cent. in Group B. Of these 37 unstable girls in Group B, 17 were of average intelligence and 20 were dull, a proportion that corresponded mainly with that originally found in Group A, where 43 of the 83 unstable girls were dull.

### *Neurotic Trends*

Girls with character disorder and psychopathic traits tended to fall into the group of emotionally unstable already discussed; in addition we find girls with neurotic conflict. Those presenting neurotic symptoms were 21 per cent. in Group A and 27 per cent. in Group B. Fifteen of these 27 neurotic girls (nine of average and six of inferior intelligence) had also figured in the group of 37 unstable girls, giving a total of 49 unstable and/or neurotic girls, one of whom had superior, 20 average and 28 inferior intelligence.

Little difference was found among those who had received out-patient psychiatric treatment (Group A 6·3 per cent., Group B 4 per cent.) or had been certified patients in Mental Hospitals (Group A 1·3 per cent., Group B 1 per cent.).

### *Physical Health*

Those assessed as having some physical defect were only slightly higher in the second group (Group A 10 per cent., Group B 12 per cent.), while height and weight showed little difference (Group A 62·7 ins, 129 lbs, and Group B 62·7 ins, and 134·2 lbs). Insufficient anthropomorphic work was done on this particular series to justify any conclusions regarding the connection between delinquency, personality and physique, although some of these girls were included in another study dealing with this problem.

### *Pregnancy and Venereal Disease*

Figures for these conditions remained much the same in the two groups. Syphilis occurred in 14·6 per cent. of Group A and 15 per cent. of Group B, and gonorrhoea in 28·6 per cent. of Group A and 29 per cent. of Group B.

Pregnancy was present in 19·6 per cent. of Group A and 19 per cent. of Group B, from which it might be concluded that the opinion that pregnancy had a stabilizing effect was wrong, or it might be merely a consequence of the greater difficulties that face the girl, burdened with a baby, on her release.

The 15 per cent. found to be virgo intacta among the original trainees

dropped to 10 per cent. in those recalled and reconvicted, whilst those judged sufficiently promiscuous to rank as prostitutes rose from 34 per cent. in Group A to 39 per cent. in Group B.

Thirty-three (five of whom were married) of the 100 recalled or re-sentenced, were found to be pregnant, eleven of them for the second time. The social work entailed in dealing with this number of illegitimate children is therefore a major problem, and it would be interesting to see, by a follow-up study of the children, how many of the latter secured a sufficiently stable environment to ensure normal development.

#### DISCUSSION

It is thought that certain problems, which merit discussion, emerge from this survey of 100 girls who, of the 300 originally reviewed, represent some of those who have given evidence of continued social maladjustment after undergoing a period of Borstal training, which averaged 21·5 months (6).

There is a hard core among trainees, who will later swell the ranks of recidivists, and it would seem suitable to endeavour to pick them out as early as possible in their delinquent careers for more intensive study and treatment, since it is doubtful that the usual Borstal régime of discipline, training in work and educational classes, will prove sufficient for their needs. It is even more urgent to tackle such cases at an earlier stage, in Remand Home or Approved School (and it is to be noted that 48 per cent. of Group B are ex-Approved School girls), and therefore the increased availability of psychiatric investigation and treatment now found in such homes and schools is welcomed. Work on prediction tables, along the lines originated in U.S.A. by the Gluecks, and more recently under investigation in this country, could usefully be validated for the Borstal group, as an objective way of picking out those girls likely to be poor risks and in need of different or additional treatment.

The higher rate in Group B of unfavourable home conditions, whether pertaining to those with separated or divorced parents, to those who passed their childhood in Institutions or to those from delinquent homes, shows that the placing of girls on completion of training needs very skilled handling. The majority of girls, often by their own wish, return to their homes, only a minority going to hostels or residential posts. Careful investigation of the home and of the attitudes likely to be encountered by the girl, together with preparation of the parents for her reception, calls for the expenditure of much time by skilled social workers. The advisability, particularly for those being discharged from a 'closed' Borstal institution, of short periods



on parole at home before final release on licence, might be considered in these cases.

Passing to those whose personality problems are more prominent than their environmental difficulties, we come to the emotionally unstable and neurotic groups, both of whom reappear in Group B in increased proportions. It is doubtful whether the dispatch of a few of the more outstandingly maladjusted to another establishment, for psychiatric observation and possibly psycho-therapy, is the answer to the problem. The effect of the emotionally unstable girls on a group, and the resulting epidemics of aggressive behaviour, were pointed out in the original survey of trainees. The connection between these outbreaks, whether the aggression was directed outwards as 'smashing' or inwards as self-mutilation, and its relation to unhealthy erotic behaviour were discussed. Their needs would probably be better met if placed in a smaller community, where they could be handled more individually, in a therapeutic atmosphere by a specially skilled staff. Here group-therapy, allied with individual treatment, could be practised, combined with the usual occupational and educational programme followed in a Borstal Institution. It is by no means only the girls of dull intelligence who contribute to the unstable and neurotic groups, so that lack of intelligence would be no bar to therapy and, even amongst the dull, there are some with sufficient insight to profit by therapy. There are, of course, those of dull intelligence but of relative stability, for whom a prolongation of the usual training régime would provide the answer.

Others, who would profit by a more individual handling possible in a smaller group, are to be found amongst those institutionalized in childhood, and whom we have already noted as reappearing in Group B in increased proportion. Although immaturity is commonly found in delinquents, it seems to be particularly striking in this class, as is their difficulty in forming any but superficial emotional attachments. It is possible that administrative elasticity would allow of temporary transfer of the less unstable to this small centre for treatment, while those more seriously disturbed might need to spend all or most of their training period there.

The chronic absconders from Approved Schools form an interesting subgroup of the unstable, many of them being more disturbed than is apparent on the surface. Of the 14 who reappeared in Group B, 10 were labelled unstable and two neurotic. It is probable that a compulsive element is often present, which tends to be overlooked, since they may conform for the time being to 'closed' conditions, in which owing to their history they are usually confined, and they may even, in some cases, welcome the discipline which relieves them of all decisions. Once released, their problems return, with the probability that, without deeper investigation and treatment, the previous

reaction pattern reasserts itself. The figures for those charged with absconding from Approved Schools (17 per cent. and 14 per cent.) do not by any means include all the 'runners' since many of those charged with breach of recognizance (16.6 per cent. and 18 per cent.) have broken probation by absconding from hostels and others from their homes, so that this group presents a problem of some size.

The sexually promiscuous form another group which raises various problems. That a smaller proportion of those originally thought to be *virgo intacta* reappears in the second group might be taken to show that contamination is a minor matter, but clinical impressions suggest that it is, nevertheless, an important one. The majority of Borstal girls have been amateur prostitutes before being sentenced and, while care can be taken to remove the professional prostitute from the Borstal institution, there is undoubtedly the risk of adversely influencing those less experienced, with the graduation of the amateur to the professional class after release. As with the criminally experienced, careful classification is important in dealing with this problem. It is probably a more urgent problem with the girls than the boys, and it is unfortunate that the necessarily small number of establishments for girls, who number only approximately 200 to 3,000 boys (7), renders classification more difficult. The Prison Commissioners' proposal to divide the 'closed' Borstal for girls into two may foreshadow even smaller establishments and better classification (5).

### CONCLUSIONS

1. Reference to the somewhat scanty literature on the subject of adolescent female delinquents suggests that they constitute a very difficult problem, *e.g.*, Aichhorn (1) is far from optimistic in his suggestions for dealing with sexually promiscuous girls. It would seem advisable if those likely to prove recalcitrant to the usual Borstal régime could be picked out at the onset of their training for more intensive investigation and treatment.

2. Emotionally unstable girls and those showing neurotic symptoms, or evidence of neurotic conflict, return in increased proportion. It is suggested that they need a greater degree of individual handling, such as could be applied in a small group, where the usual régime can be augmented by group and individual psychotherapy. Girls with a history of having passed much time in Institutions or of having repeatedly run from their homes or from Institutions also need the benefit of this mode of rehabilitation.

3. Careful classification is needed to prevent the sexually promiscuous unduly influencing the sexually inexperienced. Those among the latter whose behaviour rests on a neurotic basis, or who are judged to belong to

the 'larval' group of prostitutes described by Glover (4), may be suitably referred to the smaller group previously described.

4. Those potential failures recalled for further training need careful scrutiny to see if any treatable factors in their delinquency have been missed. The report (8) that recalled girls are conscious of failure, yet apathetic about the future, would seem to make a vigorous rehabilitation programme, including all means of approach, desirable.

5. External and internal factors in social maladjustment are much inter-linked, but those girls who have to return to unsatisfactory homes need considerable help from a social worker, whose efforts need to be directed both towards the girl and the parents, or parent substitutes. Much work is also demanded from the social workers concerned with the care of girls released with their babies. A follow-up study to show the number of girls who eventually separate from their children might suggest that, in the light of work done by Bowlby (2) and others on the effects of separation on personality development in the child, more attention could be directed to the least unfavourable time of separation.

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## IS THE CRIMINAL AMORAL ?

By MELITTA SCHMIDEBERG (NEW YORK)

We all like to feel superior to others and even the poorest citizen can feel superior to the moral and social outcast—the criminal. ‘Thank God, I am not as he’, think many respectable persons, secretly satisfied that it is only their moral superiority, righteousness and self-control that distinguish them from the moral lepers.

Such attitudes and preconceived ideas may have influenced even scientists to some degree. To state, as some psychoanalysts have done, that criminals lack a superego,<sup>1</sup> is merely saying in scientific terminology that they have no conscience; to say that criminals are sadistic is merely another way of implying that they are vicious. To translate preconceived notions into scientific language does not amount to a scientific explanation but is merely a play with words. We must examine the correctness of preconceived notions and generalizations. Moral disapproval of cannibalism, justified as it is, has never yet furthered the cause of anthropology. We must study criminals, as anthropologists have studied the aborigines, against their own background, watching the sum total of their lives and reactions without being shocked by the actions we condemn.

It is true that criminals commit actions from which respectable persons refrain, but it is not true that they commit them without hesitation, anxiety, guilt or regret. A patient of mine, a gangster who had committed successfully very numerous holdups, was sick every time before he went out on a job. This particular patient remembered these reactions when he talked to me but many criminals tend to forget them. I once visited a patient, a habitual thief, in prison after arrest, and was surprised to find her quite broken up. ‘But you told me that you did not mind prison much, that you were quite used to it, and did not think prisons were so bad’, I said, somewhat taken aback. My patient replied: ‘Then I must have forgotten what they are really like, and how much they upset me.’ This experience reminded me of the observations one could make during the London blitz. Everybody would tell stories of narrow escapes taken philosophically and fearlessly; but if one had met these people during or immediately after the danger one would have found them frightened enough. However, as the danger

<sup>1</sup> The psychoanalytical term for the regulator of ‘conscience’ in both its conscious and unconscious aspects. In practice it is taken to mean the unconscious conscience set up during infancy and early childhood.

had passed and their anxiety subsided, they tended to forget it and rather liked to glorify themselves and to see themselves in the rôle they would have preferred to play. Naturally everybody is frightened when faced with serious danger, whether he is a civilian in the blitz, a war-hero or a criminal defying the law; but it is only human nature to try to forget and overcome unpleasant states of mind, above all cowardice. Criminals in particular try to live up to a code of bravery. A hardened criminal, hold-up man and gangster, told me, shortly after his release from Dartmoor, that he woke up, having dreamt that he was back in prison. The dream had been so vivid that he woke up with anxiety; but what frightened him most was the realization of his own anxiety. He never had wanted anybody to know that he was afraid of prison.

Are criminals amoral? Some are heartbroken about the delinquencies which they have not the power to control. I have seen criminals with long records of many convictions, suffering from a sense of guilt and self-condemnation comparable only to that of melancholics. Others become hopeless and apathetic and are then described as 'callous' and 'hard-boiled'. Others again are not inhibited in their delinquent activities but are inhibited in everything else—work, sport, social intercourse, sex life. Some are dominated by a single emotion, overwhelming anxiety and distrust. All except the very worst criminals limit their antisocial activities; there are always some things they will not do. They may steal but refrain from violence; they may kill but will not rape; they may kill but not betray their fellow culprit; or they may kill but not eat faeces. In other words, we are not justified in saying that they lack a superego; but we can say that their superego differs from ours in that it permits them to do things we should not do but stops them from doing whatever they themselves consider the worst acts. Sometimes they would even refrain from, or disapprove of, actions committed by so-called law-abiding citizens. Their morality differs from ours but can not be called non-existent. We take it too easily for granted that there is only one type of morality and that it must be similar to our own. A European reproached his cannibal friend for eating human flesh. But the latter retorted that he ate only cooked meat, while white men ate meat raw, a thing appropriate only to wild animals. Their moral distinction was not between human and animal flesh but between raw and cooked meat.

The human mind manifests queer inconsistencies. A bank robber who committed manifold delinquencies would yet sometimes lie awake at night and worry because he had not paid a debt of a dollar. He also used to feel shocked because his wife sometimes stole flowers from gardens and would accuse himself of his wife's delinquencies rather than give her away. Peter Kürten, who committed some forty brutal murders in Düsseldorf, had

fantasies, while carrying out his nefarious activities, of how he would save his home town from a monster and how the grateful population would flock to pay him homage.

Many criminals have extremely high social and moral ideals and are indignant with me for not sharing them. The divergence between their extreme idealism and their delinquent actions is often a symptom of early schizophrenia; still more often a symptom of psychopathy. Some patients suffer intensely from this contrast in themselves. A criminal patient of mine who 'could not' get himself to kill cockroaches and would feed meat to baby cockroaches, used to beat his wife most unmercifully. He specialized in robbing women of their handbags and would lie awake at night whenever he had lost an opportunity, just as a business man might worry for having slipped up on a deal. Most criminals get extremely upset if it is proved to them that they are not so good at their job as they believe themselves to be. They take a pride in their professions, like respectable workers. Sometimes this pride is really objectively unjustified: often they will fabricate or elaborate their criminal exploits to impress themselves and others.

In passing it may be observed that such inconsistencies occur also in quite respectable people. Spinoza was one of the kindest of men, yet he spent many hours helping spiders to catch flies and watching them as they annihilated their prey. A neurotic patient, a law-abiding business man, worried for three months because he had trodden on a cat accidentally; but the very callous way in which he treated his employees did not bother him. Just as there is a stereotype of the criminal, so there is one of the ordinary citizen, who flatters himself that he is law-abiding, hardworking, a good family man, socially-minded and that he refrains from any infraction of the law, big or small. This, of course, must be taken with a grain of salt; for, although there is a very marked difference between criminals and honest people, the former are not all black nor are the latter all white.

To draw a balance sheet of the criminal's superego activities, to evaluate correctly whether an offender has feelings of guilt, social feelings, concern for others, we have to examine his whole life, not simply his attitude to his offences: some serious criminals are excellent husbands and loving fathers, many are notoriously sentimental. I have been told that, if any prisoner dared to utter sacrilegious words or attack motherhood, he would be certain to be knocked down by his fellow convicts. Many of them have their loyalties to their fellow criminals and a conscientiously observed code of behaviour. Respectable society is their enemy, and they fight it as the underground French fought the Nazis, taking similar pride in their exploits; but, apart from the fact that they are on the other side of the fence, they are often quite social, moral and loyal towards their own friends and families. (There



are, of course, exceptions to this, but such exceptions happen also amongst law-abiding and respectable citizens, who do not always make good friends and husbands.) A hardened criminal with a lifetime spent in and out of prison told me of a certain policeman who, he said, 'was quite like a criminal himself'; when I asked him what he meant, he said: 'Well, you could talk to him about his wife and children, about ordinary things, he was quite human, he was like you or me'. To him, the synonym for human was criminal.

One patient, a gangster, who received a ten to twenty year sentence for 'having committed 32 or more armed assaults', had been scrupulously honest at home as a child, but stole from others. He was inhibited in his aggression with his family: once when he had a row with his mother he started to hit his own head. The aggression which did not come out in relation to his family came out in a detached and controlled way in his hold-ups.

But even when the offender seems to feel no guilt about his actions, the picture of the cases usually is not so simple. An expert shoplifter, a young girl, took a great pride in her criminal exploits: she used to daydream about them, embellish them and even invent some. She claimed to have no guilt about them, but kept them scrupulously secret, largely for fear that her parents, respectable and religious people, to whom she was attached, might learn of them. Though she claimed to have no guilt, she suffered acutely from self-hate and feelings of isolation, hating her own looks and body<sup>2</sup>, having no friends, feeling acutely unhappy and lonely and suffering from typical symptoms of depression and depersonalization<sup>3</sup>.

The phenomenon of absence of guilt is, in most cases, due to depersonalization mechanisms. Studying carefully the patient's history, we can often find that in childhood he has had genuine feelings, often excessive anxiety and guilt, but that, as he grew older, these disappeared. One patient suffered from a violent temper and became the bad boy of the district. He was thrown out of some twenty schools but comforted himself with the fact that until he reached the age of sixteen he could not be hanged for murder. When he reached sixteen, the temper tantrums ceased: he became controlled and detached and developed a depersonalized and true criminal mentality.

<sup>2</sup> She had displaced her feelings of guilt from her criminal exploits (she had a similar attitude towards masturbation in childhood, which was, of course, seriously condemned in the catholic convent in which she had been brought up), to a dislike of herself and her body; and obviously the secret criminal activities that isolated her from her parents and other respectable people were largely responsible for her feelings of isolation and loneliness. How could she not hate herself if she knew how unhappy and reproachful her parents would be if they knew the truth?

<sup>3</sup> The general psychiatric definition of depersonalization is that of a subjective state associated with loss of affective response to experience in which the individual feels that everything including himself seems unreal. The condition may be transient or chronic and has many variations including a lack of belief in his own existence.

Another patient had an equally bad record as a child: stealing, lying, violent tempers; he was sent to a reformatory and ran away. Punishments and bullying made him realize that his rebellion was futile and he became a well-behaved boy. His bed-wetting stopped, his temper tantrums stopped and he left the institution prematurely as a model pupil. Yet it was from this moment, when he had learned self-control at the price of depersonalization, that his true criminal development started and his aggressions subsequently came out in coldly calculated acts and hold-ups.

A prostitute had a street phobia except when she went out with the deliberate purpose of picking up men. One day she suddenly found herself in a street that was known to be frequented by prostitutes, having gone there without any conscious intention of doing so. The sudden realization of where she was sent her into such a panic that she had to go to bed for a day to recover. She was reluctant to travel by bus for fear that her clothes might get dirty through contact with others. She explained that she could easily wash her body, so contact didn't matter, but it was more difficult to get her clothes clean. Actually her furniture and her clothes were more real to her than her body. (This is a schizoid mechanism I have observed in other cases.) It mattered less to her if she got scalded than if some tea was poured over her easy-chair. She was remarkably lacking in spontaneous reactions. Excessive control over her physical activities was a reason for her hysterical symptoms; constipation, an occasional inability to urinate, that frightened her, disturbances of menstruation, losing her milk when nursing and losing her singing voice. What she feared most was a sudden break-through of uncontrollable impulses with which she associated losing control over her bowels and being thought mad. She was very much alarmed by a sudden impulse to murder her baby, but added that she would not have been so distressed had she deliberately planned to murder it. On the one hand she feared most the sudden break-through of spontaneous emotion, on the other hand she regarded it as great loss not being able to feel. She maintained for a long time that she derived no emotional satisfaction from prostitution, flogging or from the abortions which she performed for a consideration. Only gradually there emerged in analysis pleasurable fantasies of flogging or practising abortion on persons who were emotionally important to her. By doing these things to persons of no emotional significance, in return for money, in a rational way and with a rational justification, she managed to avoid feeling guilt.

While some people are too guilty to express prohibited yearnings as long as they retain some control over themselves, there are others to whom the most frightening situation is being overwhelmed by their impulses. To borrow a comparison from Freud, a rider may be reluctant to admit defeat

and prefer to claim that he really wanted to go where his horse carried him against his will. A man became so frightened at having shot his girl accidentally that he turned around and fired at her deliberately. An antisocial boy was in the habit of urinating deliberately in the middle of the room or on the furniture, a repetition of his earlier bed-wetting: he preferred the deliberate naughty-boyish urination to the humiliating and babyish bed-wetting.

The criminal, like every other individual, has feelings both of love and of hate. The average case suppresses the latter and parades the former. The criminal often masks whatever love impulses he may have behind his antisocial actions. A homosexual delinquent felt deeply that he had disgraced his religion but since he was unable to control his perversion, he gave up his religion. A prostitute took years to admit to me that she was religious. A gangster was ashamed of his aesthetic feelings. It seems that a sense of guilt develops only where a positive object-relationship exists and passes away when this does. Lack of guilt feeling is a result of inability to love or rather a fear of feeling love and thus being vulnerable. A schizophrenic psychopathic patient told me that he could not show genuine feelings for fear of being rebuffed but that he had no hesitation about pretending feelings because, since they were not real, it did not matter what the response was. This fear of showing or even experiencing affection is characteristic of many schizoids and psychopaths. A delinquent girl who had become institutionalized was eventually placed with a foster-mother to whom she became deeply attached. She stole again and her foster-mother was extremely upset: the girl was heartbroken when she saw the effect of her act on her foster-mother. She told me that only then did she realize for the first time that when she lied and stole she hurt people. In the institutions, she said, everybody stole and lied and secretly went out with boys and it did not matter so long as you did not get caught, so she did not care.

A twenty-four year old schizophrenic patient with persecutory delusions showed a remarkable lack of ethical feelings and an apparently complete incapacity for love. In analysis, it transpired that in the latency period he had had strong feelings of guilt; at puberty, they had vanished. It was then that persecutory ideas emerged. Analysis was successful in removing these and at the same time the patient was able to reach a positive object relationship to me. One day, he wanted to shoot me and was very much impressed by the fact that in spite of this I nevertheless continued his analysis. He said: 'Now I ought to love you'. His ideas of persecution disappeared and for the first time he developed reactions of guilt, about his antisocial actions. First this guilt was excessive and gradually became more normal. But it was only during the analytic hour that he now experienced a sense of guilt; the rest of the day his affectless condition persisted. I was the only



person for whom he felt an affection and hence guilt. This type of patient needs proof of the analyst's understanding and tolerance either in a dramatic or a more sustained form and only when he feels more secure will he begin to show normal affection. To experience affection for the first time is deeply upsetting and the situation has to be handled very tactfully.

One characteristic of offenders is their criminal associations and we rightly become concerned about a boy who keeps bad company. This socially undesirable but psychologically apparently simple process has actually many reasons, some of them rather peculiar. To take the simple ones first: a boy is attracted by the freedom of the streets, finds the boys his parents disapprove of more interesting, their exploits exciting, easy money enjoyable. He keeps bad company as a rebellion against routine and discipline of parental and school authority.

But there are more pathological cases, where the patient is not so much attracted by the positive aspects of lawbreaking and adventure, but wants to humiliate himself. The Germans have coined an expression '*der Zug nach Unten*'—'the trend towards the depths'—and this is often an important factor in the delinquent development of sons of good family. Here again, there is often a positive element: their parents have been conscientious but have given them no warmth and affection, which, however, they have sometimes received from servants or other persons of a lower social class; if they felt deadened and crushed by respectable life and dreary routine, they might get something warmer and more colourful from simple people. An upper-class homosexual used to seduce poor boys: yet sexual gratification was not his prime motive. He liked the company of these simple boys, who were so much more naive and straightforward and had natural reactions. Yet it was one of the paradoxes of our society that it would have been difficult for him merely to make friends with such boys; that though it is a serious offence to seduce boys, yet this is a more understood and accepted motive.

An important factor in this 'trend towards the depths' is suicidal and self-destructive impulses. In the case of several criminals I could prove that they felt criminals and outcasts before they had objective reason to think so, that they brought on the situation of being ostracized to justify their deep-seated sense of inferiority and self-contempt. A patient from a good family, intellectually brilliant and gifted in many respects, felt since childhood, with no reason whatsoever, that he was an outcast. Later on, he became an alcoholic, was shunned by all his friends and almost wrecked his life. By then, he actually was an outcast. It is characteristic of certain types suffering from deep feelings of inferiority to seek friends of inferior physique, intelligence or questionable character or social status. They are

more at ease with people who are in some way inferior to them. These people feel they do not deserve decent friends, good food, nice clothes or a good position. A patient who had spent his life in and out of prison for exhibitionist offences was heartbroken about the harm he did to his family, as he was a devoted father. His own father had been to prison and as a child he had suffered deeply from the shame over this.

A girl proceeded to wreck her life by alcoholism; whenever she was desperate, she remembered how her father died from alcoholism when she was nine and how she had loved him and felt sorry for him. Her mother had also become a drunkard and as an adolescent for many years she would try to stop her mother from drinking, begging her to stay at home. She was extremely upset about the mother going downhill. Later on she reproduced these situations in her own life. She would get others to take an interest in her and they would beg her not to drink, as she had begged her mother; and she would hurt those who befriended her, as her mother had hurt her. Much that appears as heredity may be due to identification. But the clinically important fact is that the delinquent so often identifies with the socially undesirable traits of the parents or others and repeats the situations that have been most harmful to him. The urge to identify with bad or inferior aspects goes a long way to explain delinquent character formation; hence we must try to understand the factors that determine this type of identification and not be satisfied merely with having proved the fact of identification. Psychoanalytic literature contains repeated reference to the fact that absence of suitable prototypes in childhood has a baneful effect on the formation of character. This is only too true; but perhaps of still greater moment than these external factors are those internal ones which are decisive for the subject's capacity for identification. It seems that the reasons *why* a child identifies himself with a particular person, in a particular way, at a particular time, and in a particular manner, are precisely determined down to the last detail. It is due sometimes to loyalty to an unfortunate parent who had been in trouble, sometimes it is an over-compensation of a guilty superiority, often it is an expression of the parents' general sense of inferiority.

Strangely enough, there is often a moral drive behind the striving for moral inferiority. Much that strikes one as cynicism is really a sort of confession by means of bad behaviour. Many persons find it difficult to tolerate praise or even the good opinion of others. I happened to say good-bye to a schizophrenic child; he rushed forward and said in quite desperate tones: 'Not good boy, not good boy'. Neurotics who feel guilty that others should have a better opinion of them than they feel they deserve indulge in self-accusations: delinquents often for the very same reason try to make it impossible for others to have a good opinion of them by their bad behaviour.

The neurotic tells others, and himself feels, that he does not deserve anybody's good opinion; the delinquent proceeds to convince others by behaving badly.

Moral superiority is coveted in the same way as material possessions. Guilt over this greedy longing for moral superiority may create a drive towards moral inferiority. A patient who described his parents, not without justification, as the 'scum of the earth', believed that if he were better than they he would be betraying them. Because he felt guilty for wishing to rise above his parents, he had to emulate their bad behaviour, be as promiscuous sexually as his mother, and as dishonest financially as his father. It was not just that he had never been set a better example; he was under the necessity to suppress his ambition to be superior to his father in every way, morally as well. To be respectable meant that he would have power over his father, could hand him over to the law. A memory stood out how as a small child he got his father into serious trouble with the law by giving some officials a truthful answer. Such unconscious reactions made the patient seek bad company. Guilt over the smug satisfaction implied in 'Lord, I thank Thee that I am not as other men', may create an urge to be worse than the other men.

The mechanisms described illustrate the paradox that moral impulses may make the criminal act amorally. It is these paradoxical reactions that make it so difficult for normal persons to understand him. Anthropology can provide us with some analogies. The old heathen Prussians made a practice of disembowelling Christians and were severely punished for it. But what appeared to the Christians as senseless cruelty was to the heathens a deeply moral act. They put the bowels around their sacred trees to heal the wounds inflicted on them by zealous Christian missionaries.

Many delinquents maintain that they behave cruelly or antisocially because they have intolerable feelings of guilt. A schizoid psychopath told me how he made a very young girl pregnant and then procured abortion; the girl was so upset and looked so unhappy that he could not tolerate it, so he beat her badly. She was crying and moaning and he became suddenly so angry that she made him feel such a heel that he proceeded to beat her up still more viciously.

Most people dismiss queer contrasts in the behaviour of the delinquents labelling them as 'hypocrisy'. But such a label simply begs the question. The old saying that in hypocrisy vice pays homage to virtue contains much truth, it has even a moral connotation. Much that is regarded as a conscious act of hypocrisy is due to unconscious ambivalence, as in the case of an adolescent delinquent girl, who denied the existence of her body processes and refused to recognize all the wrongs she did. In a new environment she



was always pleasant and charming the first few days and then started giving trouble again. The disappointed foster-parent described her initial goodness as 'hypocrisy' while what had actually happened was that her good intentions were too weak to last because they were based on a hope so flimsy that it was upset by the slightest disappointment. In other cases, too, hypocrisy is seen where ambivalence is the true explanation. How can a person who pretends to be fond of his mistress slander her? But the feeling of love for the mistress is probably as genuine as the feelings of hate expressed in the slander. Or again the expressions of good intentions to which the person does not live up are dismissed as hypocrisy without taking into account the underground forces that bring good intentions to nothing.

Summing up the evidence as to the existence of a superego in criminals, we can answer the question in the affirmative, adding, however, that it differs from that of the normal person and presents strange inconsistencies: it stops him from committing some acts he considers worse than ones he does commit but it condones others. What is more, paradoxically it is often his strange moral or superego impulses that make him commit amoral and antisocial acts. It is certainly a confusing picture, that cannot be adequately described by any theoretical over-simplification.

But the abnormality of his superego is only one aspect. He is a criminal not just because he lacks restraints but because his whole personality is disturbed. Why does not the ordinary citizen commit burglary? Not only because he disapproves of it, but because he would not know how to do it, because he would be afraid both of the physical and social dangers involved in the act of burglary and because he finds it less trouble and risk and more satisfactory to go every day to his office and earn his living honestly. The burglar is unable to earn his living honestly; he has a deep-seated difficulty over work and routine. In other words, the problem is not merely why does not the superego of the burglar stop him from breaking in, but why can not he work? In other words, delinquency is not just due to a pathology of the superego, but of the ego—of the whole personality.

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INTERNATIONAL WEEK-END ON CHILD PSYCHOLOGY

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## RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

(Continued from Vol. IV, p. 199)

CURRENT RESEARCH. XXXV. SOME DIFFERENTIATING CHARACTERISTICS OF DELINQUENT AND NON-DELINQUENT NATIONAL SERVICEMEN IN THE BRITISH ARMY.

- (1) *University Department* : Department of Psychology, Birkbeck College.
- (2) *Subject of Research* : A comparison of 150 delinquent, and 150 non-delinquent, National Service soldiers by means of set interviews and tests :—
  - (a) To determine what significant sociological and/or psychological differences (if any) exist between delinquent and non-delinquent groups of Army National Servicemen.
  - (b) To develop a short interview and/or test screen to detect, at an early stage, potential persistent military delinquents.
- (3) *Under whose auspices is the research being carried out?* As a thesis for the degree of Ph.D. in the University of London, with special facilities provided by Army Operational Research Group, Broadoaks. *Supervisors* : Professor P. E. Vernon and Mr. Alec Rodger. *Research Worker* : Lt. D. N. Gibbs.
- (4) *When commenced and when likely to be completed?* Started October, 1952. Completion expected in late 1954.
- (5) *Have any results been published and where?* Nothing so far published.

CURRENT RESEARCH. XXXVI. ECOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION OF CRIME IN THE CITY OF BRISTOL.

- (1) *University Department* : Dr. J. C. Spencer—Institute of Education, University of Bristol.
- (2) *Subject of Research* : A study of the ecological distribution of crime and juvenile delinquency in the city of Bristol.
- (3) *Under whose auspices is the research being carried out?* Bristol Social Project. *Research Worker* : Miss Olive Jarvis.
- (4) *Started* : December, 1953.
- (5) *Publication* : No results so far published.

CURRENT RESEARCH. XXXVII. A CRITICAL REVIEW OF RESEARCH CARRIED OUT IN RELATION TO 'DELINQUENCY AREAS'.

- (1) *Name of University Department supplying the information* : London School of Economics and Political Science.
- (2) *Subject of Research* : An ecological study of crime in a County Borough in the Metropolitan Police District in order to examine critically the relationship between delinquency and particular neighbourhoods, with a view to modifying certain of the hypotheses of the Chicago Ecological School.
- (3) *Under whose auspices is the research being carried out?* London School of Economics and Political Science. Dr. Hermann Mannheim. *Research student* : Mr. T. P. M. Morris, B.Sc.(Soc.).
- (4) *Commenced* : October, 1953. *Completion expected* : June, 1955.
- (5) *Publication* : No results yet published.

STATUS OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTOR IN CRIMINAL RESEARCH<sup>1</sup>

To an increasing degree, modern research in this field is concerning itself with the psychology of the offender. That is to say, in addition to discovering facts about the offender's social and domestic background, investigators have been concerned with his personality dynamics. They may be said to be developing the theme announced by Healy in his pioneer work nearly 40 years ago: 'The dynamic centre of delinquency and crime will ever be the individual offender' (8). In short, attention is now being focused on the problem of delinquent susceptibility. Symptomatic of this process is the list of dispositional terms which the literature is developing to express liabilities or tendencies to criminal behaviour, e.g., 'latent delinquency', Aichhorn (1), 'anti-social character', Friedlander (6), 'susceptibility', Carr-Saunders *et al.* (3), etc. There can be few objections to this kind of speculation—at a given level of sophistication, any science is faced with the explanatory inadequacy of raw facts and is forced to 'invent' concepts to symbolize processes not immediately observable. Psychology is no exception; and the contributions made to psychological theory by psycho-analysis have been particularly prolific in the invention of such concepts.

It is the writer's opinion that, directly and indirectly, the richest crop of hypotheses about the delinquent character has come from psycho-analysis: it is not claimed that psycho-analysis gives 'true' explanations of criminal or any other form of behaviour: only that psycho-analytic hypotheses pose worth-while questions, and for the most part can be expressed in testable form, in spite of the mystical language which is often employed. In a word, psycho-analysis is scientifically *useful*. 'There is no question that the mythological fictions as well as the hydraulic models of psycho-analytic theory have been immensely fruitful heuristic devices' (4). This view would, I think, be widely but not universally accepted by psychologists.

It is well known that in recent years an influential voice—that of D. H. Stott—has been raised against the incursion of psycho-analysis into the field of delinquency, and in fact against psycho-analysis as a theory of behaviour. Now it is natural that psycho-analysts should disagree violently with Stott's formulations; it will be shown that psychologists should also do so, since Stott seems to run counter to current trends in psychological theory and experimentation—and in a retrogressive direction. The advantages of the methodology defended here will perhaps be seen the more clearly if we highlight the failings of an approach like Stott's; others have already criticized Stott. We are concerned here with exposing the basic theoretical inadequacy of his work. With the pugnacity of the behaviourist of 20 and 30 years ago, Stott tilts at the windmills of reification, special agencies, thing concepts, little men within the man, etc. Because psycho-analysts—and others—have found it linguistically convenient to sum up complicated processes and tendencies in a single abstract noun, Stott has committed the elementary error of imagining that the inventors of these nouns believe them to be homunculi, special agencies, and so on. His error is plain enough; we find him, for example, saying 'it is heinous to invent an agency such as the *Censor*, with the function of sorting out our permitted and unpermitted thoughts,' (11); he goes on: 'sweet things are not explained by the principle of Sweetness, beautiful

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to the Prison Commissioners for permission to publish this article, but such permission does not imply that it necessarily represents official views.



things by Beauty, nor bad things by Evil' (11). Clearly, he imagines, fallaciously, that the Freudian concept of the Censor is logically akin to the tautological thinking rightly condemned in the latter quotation. Nor are Freudians the only targets of Stott's phenomenological crusading; he talks of 'the essential weakness of postulating an entity such as a personality. . . . One may make the same objection to thinking in terms of "traits" or "autonomous motives"' (11). When a psychologist inveighs against the use of such harmless, necessary, tendency words as personality, trait and motive, we may well complain that here is ultra-positivism run amok. Stott has misunderstood the logic of dispositional concepts. To say that *x* has a strong superego does *not* mean—as Stott wrongly maintains—that there is within *x* a little man who holds up a warning finger each time *x* feels the temptation to do something not quite nice; it simply means, *e.g.*, that, in situations where others let themselves go, *x* behaves with exaggerated propriety. It means a great deal more, of course; the point is that statements about the superego can be unfolded into complex statements of behaviour. The superego is therefore a respectable concept of the kind which is indispensable in psychology, or any other science.

If we take a brief glance at developments in modern experimental psychology, we shall soon be convinced that Stott, with his 'generalized description of what happens and nothing more' (11) is far removed from those most intimately connected with the task of making psychology a respectable science; and that psychoanalysis, for all that its literature is cluttered with metaphysical lumber, possesses a conceptual model far closer to the ways of thinking of the most sophisticated theorists in modern psychology. Do we find modern psychologists studiously avoiding the use of thing-concepts, and shunning metaphor? On the contrary, modern psychology has discovered that 'dustbowl empiricism' doesn't pay—therefore, in addition to the stimuli and responses which everyone can see, it has posited unseen but inferred processes going on within the organism. It has become fashionable to conceptualize these processes by such terms as 'intervening variables', 'hypothetical constructs', etc., just as psycho-analysis has found it convenient to conceptualize certain processes by such terms as 'libido', 'id', 'superego', etc. In a word, psychological experimentation has made its biggest advances precisely where there has been the most talk of 'entities', 'thing-concepts', call them what you will. Now if for the 'stimuli' and 'responses' of the psychological experimental laboratory, we substitute respectively the terms 'environmental conditions' and 'criminal behaviour' of our own discipline, and if as an 'intervening variable' we place any of the dispositional terms we have already mentioned, we see a welcome affinity between the methodology of modern criminological research and that of the most advanced psychological theorizing; this is a provisional endorsement of the approach of most psychologically orientated workers in this field. To Stott, conceptualization is at best a necessary evil; the view here presented, however, is that conceptualization is a *sine qua non* of further advancement. Modern psychologists are seldom, if ever, concerned with *whether* we should use hypothetical constructs in addition to the observables; that argument has already been pretty well settled—against Stott; rather do they argue: what are the *best* constructs to use? Whether those of psycho-analysis are the best is an open question, but their scientific legitimacy is substantially established, and they are perhaps particularly suitable in the field of delinquency.

'Science itself is characteristically an elaborate structure of imagined entities and events' (9). Stott has given us a rich account of the *events* connected with delinquent breakdown, but since he has, in the interests of an outmoded methodology, eschewed the use of entities, he has contributed little to the central question of susceptibility.

So far as I know, none of the authors in this field—psycho-analytic or otherwise—who has attempted to account for the fact of criminal pre-disposition, has been guilty of the sin of circularity of argument, so that it would be merely an academic exercise to launch into a discussion on the right and wrong ways of using dispositional terms. Briefly, however, it may be said that anyone who seeks to formulate theories of criminal susceptibility has a scientific duty to employ expressions, the implications of which can be worked out in terms of behaviour, attitudes, and so on: in other words, which can be put to empirical tests; his case is made the stronger if he can come forward with testable hypotheses regarding the developmental factors responsible for the susceptibility. The expressions used by psycho-analysis satisfy these criteria; they are linguistic conveniences, shorthand expressions whereby complicated processes or pieces of behaviour can be summed up in a single word. Their origin and behavioural consequences are amply explained by those who use them; their scientific usefulness is therefore akin to that of dispositional terms, and it is a fallacy to think of them as occult forces, or 'little men within the man'. Whether or not the content of psycho-analytic theory is accepted, the psycho-analytic model of criminal (or any other) behaviour as the result of enduring tendencies, operating largely below the threshold of consciousness, is well-nigh indispensable. It would not appear that much progress can be made in the study of susceptibility without positing an Unconscious, whether this be of the Freudian or any other variety.

We shall conclude with a consideration of possible future trends and lines of profitable investigation. What, it may be asked, have we to gain by leaving the safe world of publicly ascertainable facts and delving into this tricky and elusive concept of susceptibility? An obvious answer is that, if we use the right research tools, we shall get a picture of the contemporary personality structure of the offender. We have no wish to enter here into the—largely verbal—controversy, whether psychologists should study, in the individual, contemporary or historical facts; the simple answer is that both must be studied. The importance of a picture of the here and now is that it shows us the correlation and continuity with the earlier life-factors elucidated by the psycho-analytic and other workers. Many investigators have shed a flood of light on the distinctive early life patterns of delinquent and criminal groups; that there is a connection between such factors and later criminal behaviour can scarcely at this stage be doubted. But the nature of the connection needs to be explained—when all is said and done, the *present* behaviour of the criminal springs from the nature of his *present* personality; his past is important not merely as a piece of history, but in the more or less permanent imprint which it leaves on him; in other words, as it lives on in the present. We can say that the offender's personality should be studied in order that we may see how the physical past has become the psychological present.

Next, we claim that a psychological study of the offender's personality will enable us to make a *scientific* contribution to the problem of criminal responsibility, a problem which has hitherto been viewed from the legal and ethical standpoints. The intelligibility of behaviour is to be found in personality. It



was Freud's great contribution to the study of human behaviour that he was able to show a psychic determinism at work in areas where chance, irrationality, and free will were popularly supposed to hold sway; it need scarcely be argued that the same task, on which promising beginnings have been made, needs to be completed in the study of criminal behaviour.

It is also to be hoped that a psychological investigation of criminal behaviour will enable us to define with greater precision what is specific to the delinquent's personality, as opposed to that of any other kind of social misfit. This is a problem which has already been recognized, but not as yet squarely tackled. We are told, for example, that 'emotional immaturity' is the essence of the criminal's psychological make-up. That criminals are significantly less mature emotionally than the normal population is a very respectable hypothesis and very likely true; its formulation carries us a long step forward. Yet it is doubtful whether it represents the final step; it may be true that all criminals are emotionally immature. It is certainly not true that all emotionally immature people are criminals. We are told, for example, '*neurotics* (italics mine) are persons who in their unconscious instinctual life have either remained on an infantile level or have regressed to it' (5). And whether or not we accept the Freudian concept of regression, it seems very likely that all forms of behavioural aberration are manifestations of emotional immaturity. We still, then, need to discover what is the distinguishing feature of the emotional immaturity of the criminal that sets it off from that of, say, the neurotic, the psychotic, and—who knows—the genius?

Again, Bovet (2) concludes that 'this psychological common denominator [of juvenile delinquency] can be found in the feeling of insecurity to which any criminal tendency from whatever source gives rise'. Now there can be little doubt that the psychological examination of delinquent children reveals with overwhelming frequency the factor of insecurity. But can we, without observation of a control group, assume that this insecurity is a unique characteristic of delinquency? Surely insecurity would also loom large in the examination of neurotics? And in any case can we be certain that this factor does not occur with equal frequency in the normal population?

Fortunately, an answer to the latter question is forthcoming from the exceptionally well-conceived investigation of Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck (7). Comparing a group of delinquents with an excellently matched control group of non-delinquents, the Gluecks found that the factor 'General Vague or Unconscious Feeling of Insecurity and/or Anxiety' occurred to a marked degree with a frequency of about 89 per cent. amongst the delinquents, and 96 per cent. amongst non-delinquents; other findings in the same investigation point in a similar direction. It will be noted in the first place that the difference is in the opposite direction to that which would be expected on Bovet's hypothesis; secondly, that the overwhelming majority of both groups exhibit signs of insecurity. From this we may suspect that culture generally, or our culture in particular, is such as to induce a sense of insecurity in its younger members—or it may be that the mere fact of being a child is sufficient cause for the insecurity. In any event, the Gluecks have shown that insecurity cannot by any means be said to be a unique component of the delinquent's personality structure; it would seem to be a common feature in the affective life of a population far wider than the delinquent. Insecurity appears to be relevant in the causation of delinquency, not *per se*, but



in the offender's distinctive way of dealing with it. The hypothesis might be advanced that in all or most of the members of our culture a common factor may be found which can be called a feeling of insecurity: that a comparatively small group of people persistently react to this insecurity in an immature manner; and that of these latter a sub-group react in criminal behaviour. The problem of criminal susceptibility is, then, a very specific one, and must be finally tackled along a narrow front.

The problem of classification, too, is one on which considerable light can be thrown via the study of personality. We have, so far, generally considered the criminal population in the mass, a way of thinking which is encouraged by the conventional criminal versus non-criminal control group method of research. But, as we know, criminals form a heterogeneous group; they can be classified in many ways. If the other sciences can be of any assistance to us here, the most sophisticated form of classification is that based on genotype rather than phenotype. A classification based on personality dynamics is, surely, a genotypical classification.

One last word—the aim of science is quantification. It is already widely recognized that between delinquent and non-delinquent there is no difference of kind, but of degree: the problem of susceptibility is not, therefore, fundamentally, one of qualitative differences between two discrete groups, but rather one of isolating the dimension(s) along which statistically significant differences can be found. Psychologists in this field would do well to hold in mind the ultimate goal of quantification; which means making good guesses at the dimensions or continua along which the important differences between criminals and normals lie, and using their tests, or devising fresh tests, to make the appropriate measurements. A similar dimensional approach needs to be made in the study of the relationship between delinquent and other deviant groups. For example, do neurotics, with too much guilt, and delinquents, with too little, lie at opposite ends of the same continuum, with the 'normal' presumably somewhere in the middle; in other words, is this the quantitative basis of the different *quality* of emotional immaturity which these two groups display, a view which would seem to be implied by Roper (10), or is the normal-delinquent continuum a different one from the normal-neurotic? This is no time to get bogged down in statistics for statistics' sake, but, as we have already said, problems of quantification must sooner or later be tackled. When we have got round to doing this, we shall be able to claim that the scientific study of criminal susceptibility has attained something like full maturity.

B. MARCUS.

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## NOTES AND CRITICISMS<sup>1</sup>

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF PRISONS FOR THE YEAR 1952.  
(London, H.M.S.O., Cmd. 8948. 198 pp. 6s. net).

At a time when prison conditions, in particular overcrowding in prisons, are so much under discussion<sup>2</sup> it is tempting to study the last published Report of the Prison Commissioners, with the specific object of discovering from the comprehensive information provided in it ways and means of how to relieve overcrowding by reducing the size of the prison population.

The number of persons received under sentences of imprisonment not exceeding five weeks rose from an average of 8,046 in the years 1946-50 to 8,726 in 1951—this in spite of general agreement among penologists that these very short sentences are useless or even positively harmful. Of the young offenders under 21 years of age, 324 boys and 22 girls had no known previous offences and 650 of the boys were sent to prison on sentences of not more than three months—sentences which the Report rightly calls 'deplorable'. The number of boys under 21 committed to prison on remand but subsequently dealt with otherwise than by committal to prison rose from 2,469 in 1950 to 2,683 in 1951. It is for the Courts to consider what could be done to reduce these figures.

Corrective training is, in some respects, still in its experimental stage, especially as far as Court policy is concerned. The striking reduction in the numbers sentenced to this form of imprisonment, from the peak of 1,170 men in 1950 to 665 in 1952 is perhaps not altogether surprising; in the view of the Commissioners, it is due to the growing experience of both the Courts and the Prison Governors who have to report on suitability for corrective training, and this better selection may produce better results. Only the future can show whether the attitude of the

<sup>1</sup> The Editors much regret that in the January issue of the *British Journal of Delinquency*, the leading Note entitled 'Report of the Committee on Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies' (London, H.M.S.O. 1953. Price 1s. 9d.) was inadvertently published without the signature of the contributor, Hugh J. Klare, Secretary of the Howard League for Penal Reform, to whom we now acknowledge our indebtedness.

<sup>2</sup> See House of Commons debate of the 5th February, 1954. (Hansard cols. 707-771).

Courts is in fact due to a better understanding of this new penalty or to considerations similar to those which militated against the use of the old system of preventive detention. 34 men received sentences of corrective training, although the Prison Commissioners regarded them as unsuitable—a proportion which the Report regards as disturbing. On the other hand, the Commissioners express their apprehension—as they had already done in their previous Report—that the deterrent effect of the long-term penalties provided in the Criminal Justice Act of 1948 might be lost through the reluctance of the Courts to use preventive detention for those who fail after corrective training. There has been no decline, however, in the number of prisoners sentenced to preventive detention. Although this system, too, is still in a state of transition and the scheme envisaged in the Report for 1951 for the last stages of a sentence of preventive detention could not be completed during 1952, it has been further developed through the setting up of a Hostel in 1953. The Report has some interesting remarks on the attitude of detainees to the system of 'limited indeterminacy'.

A number of new prisons were acquired during the year 1952, mostly of the open or of the medium security type: Hill Hall, near Epping, Essex, for women; Grendon Hall, near Aylesbury, and Dover for men. A particularly interesting and welcome experiment is the hostel for neglected mothers inside Birmingham Prison with its special Training Courses on which detailed information is given in an Appendix. While this innovation has been due to the initiative of the Prison Commissioners, another which also is recorded for the first time in this Report, but is of a more controversial nature, is attributable to the Criminal Justice Act, 1948; viz., the first Detention Centre for boys, opened in August, 1952, at Kidlington, near Oxford. As the Commissioners say, it will require the experience of some years to discover whether this Centre will have the expected results which might be briefly defined as deterrence without deterioration.

H. M.

## REVIEWS

CRIME IN AMERICA. By Senator Estes Kefauver. Edited with an Introduction by Sidney Shalett. (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd. 1952. 254 pp. 16s.)

The findings of Senator Kefauver's Crime Investigating Committee, upon whose work this book is based, have been so widely discussed in the past two years that its main contents can be taken as generally known. It is a most depressing story the author has to tell. These gangsters show no redeeming features whatsoever—they are nothing but petty criminals on a vast scale with hardly any originality. The Committee's real terms of reference were not so much crime, but crime and politics in U.S.A., and its revelations make it clear that 'although dishonest politicians and officeholders are a small minority compared with hundreds of thousands of devoted, honest public servants, political corruption in the United States seems to have sunk to a new low'. There is evidence in this book that not only minor officials, but the highest ranks are involved, including even an occasional Governor. '... the infection of politico-criminal corruption... is eating away at the strong, healthy tissues of our nation'.



Much has been done since the Committee's ninety-two meetings to clean up at least some of these augean stables. Kefauver, himself, can proudly report that the situation in Miami, that 'polluted playground', has improved, and the same seems to be true of the City of Brotherly Love and—according to the latest edition of John Gunther's 'Inside U.S.A.'—of Kansas City. Whether the enormous work of the Kefauver Committee will have any lasting effect is, however, impossible to predict. No doubt, it made a very deep impression on the masses of the American people, in particular because the hearings were televised. Kefauver himself is strongly in favour of this technique, although he stresses that the interests of the witnesses have to be considered. Among the Committee's recommendations was the setting up of a Federal Crime Commission—it was not accepted. Other suggestions aimed at the strengthening of the Internal Revenue Bureau's powers and the stiffening of the anti-gambling, liquor, immigration, and narcotic drug legislation. Time alone can show whether the optimistic note on which the book ends is justified.

H. M.

PSYCHOLOGICAL DISORDERS AND CRIME. By W. Lindsay Neustatter. (London : Christopher Johnson Publishers Ltd. 1953. Pp. 248. Price 21s.)

Judged as a systematic presentation of the psychiatric aspects of crime, Dr. Neustatter's book breaks new ground, a statement which must however be qualified by the reflection that it is curious this ground should not have been broken long ago. Looking through standard text books of psychiatry, one is frequently disappointed with the comparative infrequency of references to the anti-social manifestations that crop up in the psychiatric field. Dr. Neustatter has certainly remedied this omission. Two-thirds of his book consist of a simple psychiatric exposition of the various forms of mental disorder, each section of which indicates, and at the same time endeavours to elucidate, the anti-social manifestations that may occur in each given group. Throughout, the author pays particular attention to the question of criminal responsibility, which might indeed be described as the theme song of the book. As an experienced psychiatrist Dr. Neustatter does justice to his themes and, if the presentation appears to some to be too psychiatric in tone and approach, this is no more than might be expected under his self-imposed terms of reference.

It is interesting to observe, however, that the psychiatric approach ends in an indirect confession of its limitations. For, having exhausted the psychiatric headings, the author finds himself compelled in the remaining third of his book to deal separately with such problems as murder, theft and juvenile delinquency. True, he subdivides these chapters under psychiatric sub-headings, but this device does not conceal the fact that the basis of many forms of delinquency cannot be expressed fully in terms of psychiatric end-products. It is just as important to *contrast* the mechanisms of delinquency with those occurring in psychiatric disorders as to harp on the main theme that delinquency may be a by-product of mental abnormality.

Despite some flaws inherent in the method of approach, a certain flatness, for example, in the description of purely delinquent states, and too wide a scatter of the sections dealing with treatment, matters which could easily be remedied in a second edition, the book serves a most useful purpose and it is to be hoped will find its place on the bookshelves of non-medical workers in delinquency who have

little or no opportunity of gaining information regarding clinical psychiatry. It is vigorously written and, if at times the author is tempted by his own raciness into over-emphasis, he may well plead in extenuation the necessity of avoiding woolly-mindedness on a subject so important as criminal responsibility.

E. G.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ADOLESCENCE. By John E. Horrocks. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1951. Pp. xxvi + 614. Price 30s.)

Dr. Horrocks' aim, he tells us, has been to produce a textbook for elementary college students and for practical workers. He has made a thorough search of the vast literature bearing on the subject of adolescence, and has compiled a useful summary of the apparent facts. These are illustrated with nearly 70 graphs or diagrams. On the other hand, in the attempt to discriminate those facts that are best established or theoretically significant, and to interpret his data in the light of general psychological knowledge, he has been less successful.

There is an active school of American thought which treats psychology as a compound of neuro-physiology and social anthropology, and so tends to assume that the study of the conscious and unconscious mental processes in and for themselves is superfluous. Dr. Horrocks inclines to accept this standpoint. In his introductory chapter he formulates the somewhat questionable generalization that 'in its non-physical aspects adolescence is culturally determined'. In accordance with this principle his main discussion starts with the effects of cultural conditions and of the relations between the adolescent and other members of the society in which he happens to find himself. These influences have undoubtedly been much neglected in the past; and Dr. Horrocks' review of recent work is excellent. But the non-American reader might all too easily assume that the cultural conditions prevailing in the United States are typical of conditions in other civilized countries—a common mistake of English students. Dr. Horrocks next works backwards to the intellectual development of the adolescent, and then describes the characteristics of physical and physiological growth throughout this period, with which most writers would ordinarily have started. A long section follows dealing in some detail with 'adolescent interests, activities, and attitudes' (as manifested by young people in the United States); and the whole discussion ends with an 'over-view of adolescent behaviour'.

Throughout the chapters there is scarcely any mention of the contributions of psycho-analytic writers to the various problems raised. The allusions to delinquency are limited to brief notes on the effects of 'rejection', 'gang membership', and the reading of 'comics'. As a book of reference, the volume will undoubtedly be serviceable to students making a special study of adolescence; but as a psychological introduction to the subject it can hardly be recommended to readers in this country.

CYRIL BURT.

ÉTUDES DE CRIMINOLOGIE JUVENILE. By Jean Chazal. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1952. Pp. 134. Price 440 francs.)

The opening chapters of this small volume sound the note of the book. It is an examination of the cross currents in legal and psychiatric discussions on responsibility and is a plea for a 'Neohumanistic attitude in judicial circles'. It discusses the problem of juvenile anomalous behaviour in a therapeutic light

without sacrificing the social need for re-education. The author's plea for special schools equivalent to Approved Schools in Britain illustrates the fact that France is not as advanced as we are in treatment, but legal arguments in favour of reformation are stressed with characteristic Gallic subtlety.

The chapter on 'delinquent bands' is a nice amalgam of social and psycho-analytic doctrines and shows what compensatory mechanisms are at work in the gang member who finds both freedom and a perverted ethic in his gang membership.

All the essays in this book have a clean cut argument characteristic of French writers and will reward reading.

E. M.

L'ENFANCE DELINQUANTE. By Jean Chazal. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1953.)

The author is a distinguished president of a Juvenile Court of summary jurisdiction who has clearly gone deeper than the mere appearances which present themselves in everyday Court experiences. He outlines the main problems, separates off determining factors, social, familial, and individual, and then discusses the social psychology of the delinquent act as such. The writer is no sentimentalist and while asking investigators and judges to be understanding he asks them to be on guard against the juvenile deceiver, and the plausible. Such features have been noted frequently in analytical studies. He reviews the French problem of the Courts and brings out the local attitude towards re-education and guidance which seems to be a stronger trend than in England where psychiatrists are perhaps too prone to rely on internal adjustment.

Though a popular exposition, it is designed for an educated public. Specialists, therefore, will read it without indignity.

E. M.

TRAITÉ ÉLÉMENTAIRE DE SCIENCE PÉNITENTIAIRE ET DE DÉFENSE SOCIALE. By Jean Pinatel, Inspecteur de l'Administration. (Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey. 1950. Pp. lxxii + 567. Price not stated.)

Monsieur Pinatel, equally well known as a penologist and as the General Secretary of the International Society of Criminology, has produced an excellent and authoritative handbook on French penal administration which deserves in no way the epithet 'elementary'. In an introduction of eighty pages a survey of the historical development of penal methods in general is given, together with an analysis of the principal criminological doctrines. Emphasis is placed on the dependence of a scientific system of penology on the findings of criminology, and in an interesting discussion of the nature of penology the author rightly condemns any kind of degradation of his subject to the rank of a mere technique (p. lxxix).

The book itself is divided into two main parts, the first devoted to the problems of punishment, the second to those of social defence. In the first part, the legislative and administrative aspects of the French penal system are treated in full detail. Under the heading of legislation the history of the various penalties in French law is traced, such as, for example, transportation, the fate of which has apparently not yet been finally decided (p. 70). Penalties are either *peines de neutralisation* or *peines d'exemplarité* or *peines de rééducation*. In no uncertain



manner, the author places the main emphasis upon the last category. In view of the many different types of imprisonment existing side by side in the French penal system, the discussion on the merits of a uniform prison sentence deserves special attention (pp. 81 *et seq.*; see also the author's article above). Would such a uniformity be desirable on criminological grounds, the author asks, and would it be practicable in view of the structure of the French substantive criminal law and criminal procedure, based as they are on the tripartition of *crimes*, *délits* and *contraventions*, and of *cour d'assises*, *tribunal correctionnel* and *de simple police* respectively? Is perhaps the retention of the various types of imprisonment indispensable because criminological research has shown the close relationship between the personality of the offender and the legal character of his offence? However, the author admits that the findings of criminological research on this point are somewhat ambiguous, and he is therefore inclined to accept a compromise solution which may produce practical results in effect not too different from those achieved in this country by the Criminal Justice Act, 1948. There is also a penetrating analysis of the legal rights of prisoners (pp. 90 *et seq.*) and of the role of the judiciary in matters concerning the execution of prison sentences (pp. 96 *et seq.*; see also No. 9 of the 'Principles' reproduced in the author's article). Convinced of the futility of short prison sentences and of the dangers of solitary confinement, M. Pinatel pleads for the adoption of probation for adult offenders on the lines of the British system (pp. 112-3). In his description of education and discipline, too, the author refers with approval to certain features of the English prison system (pp. 250 and 265 *et seq.*). He is doubtful, however, about the wisdom of using corporal punishment in prison. For the future training of prison staff, which he regards as inadequate at present, he makes some detailed suggestions including, for example, two years of academic study before appointment to the higher posts (p. 172). One would have wished for more information about the functions of the '*éducateurs*' (pp. 159, 166). While strongly supporting the idea of scientific classification, the author is somewhat critical of the limitations imposed on it by recent French legislation (p. 262). One of the most valuable chapters deals with the problem of prison labour; it is shown that the two systems of '*concession*' and '*régie directe*' exist at present side by side and that in future the former is likely to be adopted for the shorter and the latter for the longer prison sentences (p. 282). The prisoner's share in the yields of his labour, between four and seven-tenths of the total, depends on the kind of imprisonment he is serving and is therefore linked to his offence. Earnings are divided into three parts, one at the prisoner's immediate disposal, one for the time after his discharge, and one for the cost of his trial and other debts to the Treasury (pp. 293 *et seq.*). Of great interest are the chapters on the employment of prisoners outside prison (*chantiers extérieurs*) and in agricultural colonies (pp. 309-23), on social work in prison and on after-care (*assistance pénitentiaire*, pp. 347-76). Although in full sympathy with the traditional system of collaboration between private organizations and the state in matters of after-care, the author rightly stresses the need for an extension of the scope of state activities in this field.

In the second part of the book which deals with 'Social Defence' as distinct from punishment the treatment of juvenile delinquents in France is described. With regard to adult offenders, the special problems of the recidivist and of the mentally abnormal are discussed in their legal and criminological aspects. In the section on *relégation* (preventive detention) a comparative survey of legislation

is given which for this country makes no mention, however, of the changes introduced by the Criminal Justice Act, 1948. With regard to mentally abnormal offenders (pp. 511 *et seq.*), an outline is presented of the present system and of the measures envisaged for the future. For mentally abnormal offenders, who, although not insane and requiring hospitalization, show a disposition to commit further crimes, legislation is planned which would place them, after a period of observation, at the disposal of a '*commission de protection sociale*', consisting of a magistrate, a barrister and a doctor (p. 520). This commission would have power to commit the offender to a special establishment for a period of three to five years in cases of less serious and of eight to twelve or even eighteen years in cases of more serious crimes (see also the author's article above).

In an appendix, the author tells us that the book was prepared in view of the two International Congresses held in 1950 in Paris and at The Hague. It is in fact much more, however, than merely a passing tribute to those two occasions and likely to remain the standard work on its subject for many years.

H. M.

SEX AND THE LAW. By Morris Ploscowe. (New York: Prentice-Hall. 1951. Pp. ix + 310. \$3.95.)

Although dealing primarily with the legal treatment of sexual matters in the states of the U.S.A. this book, written by a distinguished New York magistrate, is of great interest to all those concerned with the law of sex offences everywhere. By exposing the inconsistencies and backwardness of many American Statutes it forces the reader to reflect on the corresponding state of affairs in his own country. Four chapters deal with subjects outside the criminal law such as marriage, divorce, annulment, and illegitimacy, including the legal consequences of artificial insemination. The major part of the book is, however, devoted to the law of sex offences. In the chapter on rape the difficulties of evidence and the iniquities of the conception of statutory rape are well discussed, with many references to court decisions. It is surely absurd, as may happen in at least one state, to punish as statutory rape intercourse with a consenting girl of twenty. There are also excellent critical analyses of the Psychopathic Sex Offenders' Laws and of those dealing with prostitution. Altogether we are left with the impression not only that much of American legislation in this field is in need of drastic reforms, but also that the many striking differences between the states should be greatly reduced.

H. M.

SOCIETY AND THE CRIMINAL. By M. J. Sethna, Ph.D. (Bombay: Leaders' Press Ltd. 1952. Pp. xx + 423. Price not stated.)

In some respects this is a remarkable production. Accustomed as we are to books purporting to cover the criminological field, which, on closer examination, prove to be *ex-parte* presentations of the subject written by sociologists, psychologists, or psychiatrists, it is refreshing to come across a really comprehensive approach to the problem. The author ranges from crime, its causes and remedies and the personality of the criminal to theories and types of punishment, prison methods and various institutional and social systems of dealing with crime. He draws freely not only from psychological, sociological and administrative sources, but also from theology, ethics, history, politics, art, music and literature. The

execution of this comprehensive scheme is, however, not so balanced as its outline promises. Too much space is devoted to prisons, institutions and court procedure and some of the psychiatric approaches, including the psycho-analytic, are inadequately summarized. Moreover, some of the author's favourite reforms, in particular the principle of compensation and the suggestion of *indeterminate* compulsory education, suggest that, despite the range of his interest, the author is essentially an environmentalist and social reformer.

The book is remarkable in another respect. Perhaps because of his theological and ethical pre-occupations, Mr. Sethna succeeds in conveying to the reader his liberal-minded and, despite a few regrettable inconsistencies, essentially charitable attitude to the criminal. No doubt professional psychiatrists and sociologists are too afraid of their scientific reputations to leaven their works with Christian charity. Mr. Sethna is not deterred by such considerations, and there can be no doubt that, if administrators and all others concerned with the problem of crime shared some of the spirit of his approach, progress in the treatment of crime would be more rapid than it is.

E. G.

MURDER, MADNESS AND THE LAW. By Louis H. Cohen. (Cleveland and New York : World Publishing Co. 1952. Pp. 173. Price \$3.50.)

Using as the material for his argument seventeen court cases (in each of which a plea of insanity was raised), Dr. Cohen re-examines the M'Naghten Rules and criminal procedure in the light of modern psychiatrists' criticism of their more obvious inadequacies. In recounting the M'Naghten case he demonstrates the position of the Law with a fairness and clarity all too often absent in the psychiatric proponent of reform. The Rules were framed not to define insanity but to delimit criminal responsibility. They originated in the public clamour, not to protect the lunatic but to suppress a tendency to exploit insanity as a means of escaping punishment for criminal behaviour. Nevertheless, as Dr. Cohen clearly shows, insanity is a disease, not only of a whole mind, but of a whole person, and he explains in some detail Lord Brougham's famous dictum 'Mind is one and indivisible ; we cannot therefore in any correctness of language speak of general and partial insanity'.

The author has succeeded in treating the whole complicated and controversial subject of criminal responsibility from the psychiatric standpoint in a manner that can be understood and enjoyed by the intelligent layman as well as the practising psychiatrist.

W. LESTER.

PROBLEMS IN THE FIELD OF NEUROSIS AND PSYCHOTHERAPY. By H. C. Rumke. Professor of Psychiatry, University of Utrecht. (Oxford: Blackwell Scientific Publications. 1953. 15s.)

These lectures by the distinguished Dutch psychiatrist are important not because of any original views or discoveries disclosed in them, but because of the masterly way in which he has brought together the complex factors contributing to any mental illness.

Approaching psychiatry from the converging roads of a number of disciplines, he does much to obliterate the frontiers that isolate the regions of phenomenological psychiatry, genetic studies and psycho-analysis. His approach is logical



as well as methodological and he will not (and here he is in agreement with modern scientific thinking) accept the outworn notion of causality and prefers the term conditioning. This again conforms with Hughlings Jackson's formulations in neurology to which he adheres consistently. Accepting psychogenesis, he however limits its scope particularly in the field of the psychoses and also demands that it shall be conceived of as acting within the frame of constitution and predisposition. While accepting Freudian fundamental processes he appreciates and welcomes the development that they have undergone in recent years. These thoughtful studies deserve close attention, but the publishers should have insisted on a bibliography, and they might have helped a foreign author by removing many verbal peculiarities and a number of un-English grammatical forms.

E. M.

THE IMPORTANCE OF ILLITERACY. By M. M. Lewis. (London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd. 1953. Pp. 187. Price 7s. 6d.)

This small survey and discussion of the problem of illiteracy, by the Director of the Nottingham Institute of Education, is written throughout from the point of view of the educational psychologist. The various social aspects of the subject are also considered and some references made to its relation to delinquency. The delinquency worker will only have his appetite whetted for more dynamic or developmental studies, but, so far as it goes, it is a useful book.

E. G.

ADJUSTMENT TO PHYSICAL HANDICAP AND ILLNESSES. By Roger G. Barker, with B. A. Wright, Leo Meyerson and Mollie R. Gorwick. (New York: Social Science Research Council.)

The authors have coined a new term—Somatopsychology—to cover the complex of body-mind relations as they impinge on health and behaviour. Kretschmer and others such as Sheldon and Perea have established certain broad principles of the body-character relationship as it shows itself in psychiatry, but this comprehensive work deals with the extended problem of parental attitude towards physical infirmities and the social repercussions of bodily disabilities. These cover not only inborn anomalies but acquired disorders such as orthopaedic cripples, the tubercular, those with sense impairment (deafness, blindness) and acute illnesses. These sufferers do not form a coherent social problem group, as the psychosomatic consequences vary with each group and within each group.

That individuals react in varying degrees to their physical handicaps has long been recognized, but only in recent years have these reactions been scientifically studied. To the psychopathologist these issues are an everyday concern in analysis but sociologists are also concerned as to the effects on social behaviour and industrial efficiency. The misery of the sick and the crippled is in the first instance a problem to parents: but later on the employability of the disabled is a function not only of lowered efficiency but of personal deviations. That delinquent behaviour can follow from frustrations in these fields is a matter of concern to all students of criminological disorders.

E. M.

**SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY AND INDIVIDUAL VALUES.** By D. W. Harding, Professor of Psychology, Bedford College. (London: Hutchinson's University Library. 1953. Price 8s. 6d.)

This very elegantly written volume discusses problems of social psychology from a somewhat novel angle. There is a recent trend which accentuates the contribution of society to the mental structure of the individual. Professor Harding lays some emphasis on the contribution that the individual's needs make to society. He considers to what extent the social structure is adequate to the individual's needs and in this measure he shows how the endowed individual is not necessarily aberrant because society does not meet him all the way. The chapter on normality is particularly valuable for it carries on a discussion which has vexed most students of psychopathology and equally students of social medicine. To this extent it will repay reading by criminologists who are obliged to sit back and think upon the problem of social normality and delinquent deviations.

E. M.

**THE DYNAMICS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTING.** By Milton S. Gurvitz. (New York : Grune and Stratton. 1951. Pp. xii + 368 + illustrations. Price not stated.)

This book consists mainly of test material and psychological evaluations of seventeen patients tested and treated at the Hillside Hospital (State of New York). These seventeen cases are presented in great detail. Each chapter contains a protocol of the testing procedures (Wechsler-Bellvue, Rorschach, Figure Drawing, T.A.T. and M.A.P.S. are used), the analysis of the protocol, the psychological report with a therapist's comment on every point, case history and case analysis. This manner of presentation would be quite effective in very few cases : as it is used for seventeen, it becomes repetitious and unnecessary. The material is well selected and ingeniously analysed, although the conclusions are not always as well supported by the material quoted as one might wish. The book cannot be used as a text-book, although this appears to have been the author's intention. But as a supplement to any of the recognized text-books of clinical testing it is useful, critical in approach, and gives a balanced account of the use of a battery of tests in clinical diagnosis.

T. GRYGIER

**SHIP WITHOUT SAILS.** An Account of the Barge Boys' Club. By M. Lloyd Turner. (London: University of London Press. 1953. Pp. 160. Price 7s. 6d.)

The sailing-barge *Normanhuric*, moored within a few yards of the headquarters of the Thames River Police at Wapping, was for some years the home of a Boys' Club. The experiment began tentatively in 1947, reached the end of its first stage in the summer of 1951 and was brought to an end just after the publication of this book. The object was to make a club for 'unclubbables' i.e., boys who for some reason or other had gone beyond the reach of the existing youth organizations. The group was some twenty strong. The barge, of course, could never do more than house the experiment. The story one wants to read is not about a ship without sails, but about Lloyd Turner and the group of boys. This story is never told. 'Spike' and 'Duke' and other boys emerge : but Lloyd Turner, the principal actor and the most interesting character, cannot break through his self-chosen mask of 'The Worker'.

In order to be able to answer the question: 'What happened on the Barge?' it is necessary to know, at least, a good deal about Lloyd Turner as well as about the boys. A useful book might well have been made if it had been a good deal longer and divided into three parts: the first, a study of Lloyd Turner; the second, written perhaps in the first person, from diary notes, by Lloyd Turner, in his own way, of his experience with the boys; and a third, a review of the first and second parts and their inter-relation. The personal difficulties involved in such a presentation are large and obvious; but the subject of the book is inter-personal relationships.

J. L. PETERSON.

PSYCHO-ANALYSIS AND SOCIAL WORK. Edited by Marcel Heiman, M.D. (New York: International Universities Press. 1953. Pp. 346. \$5.)

This book breaks new ground in psycho-analytical literature. Psycho-analysts, preoccupied with their studies of individuals, have hitherto paid little attention to the social problems of patients. So much so that they have acquired a not-altogether unjustified reputation for lack of commonsense and judgment in everyday affairs. This is the more regrettable in that a knowledge of unconscious mechanisms would seem a distinct asset not only in the 'short-term' treatment of common mental disorders, but in assessing those environmental factors which play a part in precipitating mental breakdown.

This book is divided into two parts. The first, and shorter, provides a theoretical preamble to social study. Three articles (by Bunker, Klein and Pyeres) are sound in outline; but the whole section requires expanding for, in its present form, it only whets the appetite of the social worker, without giving him enough detailed information to enable him to deal with the crises which so frequently arise in his everyday practice.

The second part covers such subjects as team psycho-therapy, family life, child guidance, foster-home placement, adoption problems, residential treatment of adolescents and the problems of the aged. Of these, the contributions of Blos, Sobel, Mouchley Small and Meerloo are perhaps the most practical. But it must be admitted that on the whole the practical papers are too vague, too wordy and too much influenced by theoretical approaches. Psycho-analysts have much to offer and, once they learn the arts of practical presentation, will be able to help the social worker even more than does the present volume, an expanded second edition of which is much to be desired. In the meantime and despite its inadequacies this book should certainly be read by all interested in psychiatric social work.

E. G.

THE COMPLETE PSYCHOLOGICAL WORKS OF SIGMUND FREUD. Vol. VII. (London: Hogarth Press. 1953. Pp. 335. Price £36 the set of XXIV Volumes.)

This particular volume is of especial interest to delinquency workers. In addition to the 'Three Contributions to the Theory of Sexuality' (reviewed in this Journal, Vol. 1, No. 1, July, 1950), a work which is essential to the study of sexual disorder, it contains his essay on the role of sexuality in the neuroses, and some early formulations of psycho-analytic treatment. The title of a brief note on 'Psychopathic Characters on the Stage' is, in view of current clinical definitions



of psychopathy, now somewhat misleading. For Freud the term was synonymous with psycho-pathological.

E. G.

THE DEPRIVED AND THE PRIVILEGED. *Personality Development in English Society.*

By B. M. Spinley. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd 1953. Pp. 204. 18s. net.)

Not all Ph.D. theses are worthy of reaching book form. This is certainly a worthwhile exception. Not only is it an orderly and well-designed research, but it deals with a vital subject—the development of personality in contrasted English social groups. On the one hand, we have a slum area group, and on the other a group consisting of persons who enjoyed the privileges of a public school education. The aim was to test the hypothesis that a given milieu creates its basic personality structure and that this in its turn is determined by experiences in infancy, childhood and even in late adolescence.

Two techniques were employed, firstly participant observation in which the observer consciously and systematically shared the life and interests of the group in question; secondly, structured interviews with selected informants.

The study certainly proved the initial hypothesis that sub-cultures do exist in complex societies, and that there is a basic personality type. Other conclusions of a less convincing kind are drawn: conclusions which relate to sexuality, growth of social service, call for longer and more detailed study. Whether social psychologists aim at studying social psychiatric problems, or especially delinquency, they will learn much from this clear and unpretentious enquiry.

E. M.

## ABSTRACTS AND REFERENCES

### CRIMINOLOGY

S. C. VERSELE: 'Predelinquental Action. I', *International Criminal Police Review*, October 1953, 8, 264-70. (Twenty-nine references.)

Criminals should be cured rather than punished. Action taken by judicial authorities should be based on the aetiology of the antisocial personality rather than on the legal gravity of the offence. The general problem of predelinquency and the solutions arrived at in different countries are reviewed.

W. R. B.

E. G. SIBERT: 'Juvenile Delinquency and Town Planning', *Journal of the Town Planning Institute*, 1953, 39, 243-245.

If studies of juvenile delinquency could throw definite light on the effect of environment in the causation of delinquency the information might be of the greatest value in shaping planning policy. The author refers in particular to the work of Burt and Shaw. The same picture emerges of high incidence at the centre and low incidence at the periphery.

Two approaches are needed: (1) geographical, the comparison of the incidence of delinquency with such information as residential density, age of buildings, etc. (2) the study of delinquent and non-delinquent groups in different environments.

Planning officers could also do more to encourage their authorities to sponsor research on these matters in conjunction with the universities.

J. C. S.

MARVIN BRESSLER: '*Criminological Research Bulletin*', *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1953, **44**, 185-203.

This is the second edition of the new series, of which the first number was edited by Professor Oto Pollak, and published in the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* in March-April 1950. It consists of a list of American studies in criminology initiated during the period October 1949 to October 1952.

J. C. S.

WALTER BROMBERG: '*American Achievements in Criminology*', *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1953, **44**, 166-76.

In this paper the author restricts himself to the main trends of psychiatric activity which seem to have brought progress to the field or acted as potential indicators for future development. In his survey he covers the following work: psychiatric clinics in adult and juvenile courts, research in penal institutions, investigations into psychopathy and its origins in early childhood, the use of electro-encephalography, the psychopathology of the sexual psychopath and legislation dealing with the problem, and the relationship between lawyers and psychiatrists.

J. C. S.

ROBERT E. LANE: '*Why Business Men Violate the Law*', *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1953, **44**, 151-65.

The Assistant Professor of political science at Yale University examines the question: Why do some business men violate the law while others do not? The simple explanation based on economic motivation does not tell us. 'Need' rather than 'opportunity for gain' appears to be a more effective answer. The more profitable firms do not violate *some* laws as easily and quickly as the less profitable firms. Ignorance of the law and incapacity to respond seem, in most cases, to be relatively unimportant causes of violation. Sutherland's doctrine of 'differential association' is examined. On the whole results seem to confirm the hypothesis. A study of the records of business violation shows that recidivism is infrequent: violation and apprehension is not the preface to future violation, but the end of the matter. The author concludes with some suggestions for reducing the rate of violation. There is need for a re-examination of the relationships between business and Government.

J. C. S.

GEORGE B. VOLD: '*Some Basic Problems in Criminological Research*', *Federal Probation*, **17**, March 1953, pp. 37-42.

FRANK E. HARTUNG: '*White Collar Crime: Its Significance for Theory and Practice*', *Federal Probation*, **17**, June 1953, pp. 31-6.

STANLEY D. PORTEUS: '*Setting the Sights for Delinquency Research*', *Federal Probation*, **17**, June 1953, pp. 43-7.

These articles each represent aspects of a reaction against the methods of workers, such as the Gluecks, which concentrate on the individual pathology of



the offender. The writers join in emphasizing the importance of getting accurate knowledge of what constitutes normal behaviour. Two of them owe much to Sutherland and place first in the list of theoretical problems that of what makes a particular type of social behaviour 'criminal'. Secondly, it is important to concentrate research on the principal (in terms of frequency and cost) groups of crimes rather than on the sensational but infrequent ones. Hartung points out that this means examining records of civil actions and agreements made with the administration in order to avoid prosecution for acts which are fundamentally criminal. Problems of control groups and research design are discussed, and it is stressed that the theoretical problems are those of the place and role of crime in society rather than of specific research techniques. Vold suggests a typology might be evolved from the extent to which individual abnormality might be the major factor in criminality.

J. P. M.

### PENOLOGY

ISAAC GURMAN : 'Community Discrimination against the Parolee', *Focus*, **32**, November 1953, pp. 163-8.

Some of the forms and origins of discrimination are discussed; often bars to employment arise as a result of decisions at a comparatively low level of management and are rarely the subjects of authoritative policy decisions. Many government plants have such bars, but in fact employ ex-convicts who, sometimes with the connivance of parole officers, are forced to conceal their convictions in order to get any job. One cause of bars in industry has been the trend towards the type of insurance policy known as 'blanket bonding' which requires an employer to report any employee having a criminal record—failure to do so voids insurance protection. Another form of exploitation is employment, superficially charitable, of a generous proportion of ex-convicts but at sub-standard rates and on only part-time work. An unexpected discrimination is in the field of social work where many voluntary agencies are uninterested in helping delinquents, and where the training of social workers often omits the subjects of probation and parole. The basic cause is that the parole system is tolerated but not wholeheartedly accepted by the community.

J. P. M.

G. BENTLEY : 'The Tyranny of the Committal Order', *Approved Schools Gazette*, 1953, **47**, 278-80.

The Deputy Headmaster of Desford Boys School discusses the conflict between the demands of a court order and the treatment received in the approved school. Where the intention is to provide education in its widest sense it would appear more desirable that a team of educators in the earliest stages rather than a bench of magistrates should deliberate on the delinquent. There appears also to be a need for a greater degree of selectivity before a child is taken to court for the purpose of committal.

J. C. S.



WILLIAM G. NAGEL: 'Casework at Bordentown', *Focus*, **32**, November 1953, pp. 169-177 and 187.

Describes some problems and methods of social casework in a correctional institution for young male adults. First need is to avoid siding with the inmate against the institution, only if this policy is pursued may the caseworker be able to get the inmate to accept some responsibility for his imprisonment and thus bring about a positive approach to the training rather than that of 'doing time'. Admission and classification are the crucial stages in a system of indeterminate sentences: the social worker has a dual role—as a member of the classification committee deciding on the appropriate treatment, and as a practising caseworker trying to help the inmate to understand and accept the committee's decision. Wives and parents of inmates are encouraged to meet the caseworker to discuss their attitudes to the situation; many reveal great anxiety and would benefit from longer contact but staffing difficulties usually allow only one interview. The case history of an arsonist is given, and this involved continuous casework with his family.

J. P. M.

## PSYCHOLOGY

B. L. F. CLEMENS SCHRÖNER: 'A Psychiatric Social Worker and Research: Experiences in an Investigation into Protection Work in Holland', *British Journal of Psychiatric Social Work*, November 1953, **8**, 22-27.

The author is a P.S.W. who qualified in the London Mental Health Course in 1946. She describes an investigation into the operation of 'Gezinsvoogdij' or 'probation' in Holland. Her method was an interview of 242 probationers and 119 probation workers. Her most notable finding was the amount of resistance which probation workers had had to contend with, without having been aware of it. The system appeared most likely to succeed with 'normal' children (e.g., those not markedly neurotic or of low intelligence) belonging to what might be called cohesive families. The motives leading the voluntary workers to take up probation work were investigated. Emphasis was placed on the need for professional supervision and some training to be given to these voluntary workers.

J. C. S.

BARBARA CASEY: 'Delinquent Parents Anonymous', *Focus*, **32**, November 1953, pp. 178-82.

A Californian Probation Officer found that her work with delinquent girls helped their emotional development but created difficulties at home because their mothers were often unable to understand their daughters' growth. She attempted to bridge the gap by experimenting with group therapy for the mothers. Often the mothers' own discussion was at an adolescent level. The sessions have been helpful both to the probation officer in giving her more knowledge about her probationers' homes, and to the mothers in increasing their understanding of the problems of their families.

J. P. M.

- E. BRÄUER: 'Erfahrungen als Fürsorgerin mit krimineller Grosstadtjugend', *Praxis der Kinderpsychologie* (January 15), 1954, **3**, 18-24.
- E. KRETSCHMER: 'Der triebhafte Verbrecher und seine Diagnostik', *Archiv für Psychiatrie und Nervenkrankheiten*, 1953, **191**<sup>1</sup>, 1-13. (Five references.)
- WINTER: 'Japan: Tohoku University, Psychologisches Institut. Gemeinsame Untersuchungen über die Persönlichkeit jugendlicher Rechtsbrecher. (Co-operative Researches on the Personality of Juvenile Delinquents.) Nach Yoshikazu Ohwaki und Mitarbeitern', *Praxis der Kinderpsychologie* (January 15), 1954, **3**, 24-7.

### SOCIOLOGY

THE ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE, March 1953, vol. **286**. Edited by Robert H. Dysinger, M.D. (Philadelphia. Pp. vii + 254. Price \$5.00 per year, single copies \$2.00.)

This issue of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, entitled 'Mental Health in the United States' and edited by Dr. Robert H. Dysinger of the National Institute of Mental Health, Washington, D.C., is intended to 'accent the implications, in terms of health, of the various mental health problems and to discuss the resources which exist in our society for the specific purpose of providing mental health services'. Twenty original articles deal with such topics as 'The schizophrenic, manic, and depressive behavioural reactions', 'Hospital Services for the Mentally Ill', 'American Child Psychiatric Clinics', 'Planning Community-wide Attack on Behaviour Disorders', and 'The Prevention of Mental Disease', and some seventy pages are devoted to signed book-reviews.

W. R. B.

LULIE SHAW: 'Following up Adoptions', *British Journal of Psychiatric Social Work*, **8**, November 1953, 14-21.

This article describes a follow-up study of 101 children adopted by members of the Society of Friends. Among the problems covered by the author are included the following: patterns of adoption, motives in adoption, matching the child to the home, placement, telling the child about his adoption, and the effect of adoption on the family. More systematic research is needed, and particularly in relation to the deeper emotional aspects of adoption.

Formulation of criteria of success also is required, but cannot be attempted until far more detailed information is available about what happens after the adoption order has been made.

J. C. S.

GORDON H. BARKER: 'Parent Organizational Affiliation and Juvenile Delinquency', *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1953, **44**, 204-207.

In this study by the Professor of Sociology in the University of Colorado, one phase of family relationship is isolated and its significance to the causation of delinquency examined. It is the number of organizations to which the parents of juvenile delinquents belong. A control group of non-delinquents was used for



statistical purposes. Father-membership in organizations and the delinquency of his child do not appear to be significantly related. As regards the membership of mothers, the study indicates the exact opposite. At least two further studies are suggested. It would appear that the lack of membership on the part of fathers does not necessarily indicate a maladjustment to the culture in which they live, while in the case of mothers such a relationship appears to exist. J. C. S.

## LAW

OLOF KINBERG: 'Swedish Forensic Psychiatry', *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1953, **44**, 135-50.

Since criminal policy in Sweden has been provided with a number of new measures for the treatment of delinquents, it has become necessary to acquire a more complete knowledge of the personalities of accused individuals. The forensic psychiatric organization was formed in 1945, and at the same time the ancient criteria of 'imputability' were repealed. There is, however, still division of opinion among the experts as to the existence of psychopathy as a clinical entity. The Court does not have to choose the expert, as all cases must be sent automatically to the ward in the district where the Court is situated. In cases of doubt the Court can ask the opinion of the Forensic Psychiatric Commission. The author describes the evolution of some fundamental ideas on criminal psychiatry in Sweden and the disappearance of obscure metaphysical notions in criminal policy. J. C. S.

E. WAUTERS: 'The Protection of Delinquent Children in the Belgian Congo', *Revue de Droit Penal et de Criminologie*, **3**, December 1953, pp. 250-262.

This article discusses the terms of a decree passed in December 1950 for the welfare of delinquent children, up to the age of eighteen years. The decree applies equally to the European and African populations and thus creates the anomaly whereby legal criminality begins later for the Belgian in the Congo, than when in his home country. It is proposed that a corrective residential institution should now be built. Preventive measures including Juvenile Courts are envisaged but it is realized that they will have to await the recruitment and training of personnel who have a true sense of vocation.

A. BONNARD.

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

**BRIAN KAY**, M.A., Ph.D. (London) is a Defence Research Scientific Officer with the Defence Research Medical Laboratories, Toronto, Canada.

**PHYLLIS EPPS**, M.D., M.R.C.P., is a Temporary Medical Officer in the Prison Medical Service. Late Physician at Mill Hill Neurosis Centre; late Clinical Assistant in the Department of Psychological Medicine, Guy's Hospital.

**MELITTA SCHMIDBERG**, M.D. Lecturer and training analyst for the British Psycho-analytic Society from 1938 to 1945. Psychiatrist to the Institute for the Scientific Treatment of Delinquency from its inception until she left England in 1945. Founder of the Association for Psychiatric Treatment of Offenders, New York; Lecturer, Institute for Psychotherapy, New York. Specializes in the treatment of criminals and psychopaths.

**BERNARD MARCUS**, B.A., graduated at Birkbeck College, London University, July 1951. Psychologist at H.M. Prison, Wakefield, since April, 1952. On Executive Committee of Leeds Regional Psychiatric Association.